MOVEMENT – 1978-1979 – FORWARD (1978-1979)

Correspondence, Journals & Documents – Socialist League / Forward Group

**Archival Items – 'On File' –copies available at National Archives, Ottawa*

1978

*1978-Jan9	First Submission to MacDonald Commission by R.D.
*1978-Jan18	2nd Submission to the MacDonald Commission by R.D.
*1978-02Feb3	Note to Panitch re: promoting Penner's new book
1978-02Feb-fwd-31	(NDP) What real choice in leadership race?
*1978-Feb-fwd-31	(NDP's) Opportunity to change course
*1978-Feb-fwd-31	McDonald hearings cover-up for RCMP
*1978-Feb-fwd-31	Socialist sues RCMP for slander (Ross Dowson)
1978-02Feb-fwd-31	Editorial—(US) Branch plants pack up
*1978-Feb-fwd-31	Oh Canada—US interests reach 81% of foreign total
1978-02Feb-fwd-31	'The Canadian Left'---RD critique Penner
1978-02Feb-fwd-31	Strengthen moves to Quebec independence—PQ laws
1978-02Feb-fwd-31	Committee for new constitution brief
1978-02Feb-fwd-31	Unity Task Force faces failure of Confederation
1978-02Feb-fwd-31	Cross-country with the NDP-- Manitoba defeat
1978-02Feb-fwd-31	Discussion of problems confronting socialist left
1978-02Feb-fwd-31	Women workers hit--CBC clanger on Nellie McClung
*1978-Feb-fwd-31	Locks in nuclear peril -Ont.Hydro deal for uranium (file)
1978-04Apr17	Hand letter to Jerry & Ruth: book reviews and RCMP case

1978-04Apr-fwd-32 Nothing in BC pipeline—but Gov't rams thru deal

*1978-Apr-fwd-32 Broad support rallies behind key legal RCMP suit

1978-04Apr-fwd-32 Student protest cutbacks—Fishermen need sovereignty

1978-04Apr-fwd-32 Left-wing develops at ONDP convention

1978-04Apr-fwd-32 Cross-country with the NDP—NDP for Toronto slate

*1978-Apr-fwd-32 Opportunities for Alta.NDP endangered by leaders

1978-04Apr-fwd-32 Levesque denounces big business assault

*1978-Apr-fwd-32 The Canadian Corporate Elite & US connection

1978-04Apr-fwd-32 Continental Corporate Power -- Wallace Clement (1977)

*1978-Apr-fwd-32 Oh Canada—US up share of Cdn foreign ownership

*1978-Apr-fwd-32 Ottawa's Russian circus to cover up RCMP scandal (file)

1978-07July31a Hand notes by RD: NDP Ward 6 meeting; RD speaks

1978-07July-fwd-33 Protests against RCMP Jailed Que. unionists

*1978-Jul-fwd-33 Sham & fraud of Gov't's Renewed Federalism

1978-07July-fwd-33 (Left wing) Attacks NDP leaders' Industrial Strategy

1978-07July-fwd-33 Protests hit Broadbent for abandoning socialism

1978-07July-fwd-33 Electricians curbed by US trusteeship

1978-07July-fwd-33 Urges NDP to stand firm–Toronto NDP municipal slate

*1978-Jul-fwd-33 Trudeau retreats in Petrocan charade

1978-07July-fwd-33 Health report ducks criticism (Ont. Status of Women)

1978-07July-fwd-33 Police 'doing their job' harassing striking women

1978-July-fwd-33 Nuclear plant perils – Gov't covers up dangers (on file)

1978-07July-fwd-33 PQ building its base for the referendum

1978-07July-fwd-33 Nationalism in Canada—Review new Resnick book

*1978-Jul-fwd-33 Left scores gains in Peru's Constituent Assembly (on file)

*1978-Jul-fwd-33 Oh Canada—Bank Act revisions allow foreign entries

*1978-Jul-fwd-33 On the Line—CLC leader attacks shorter work-week

*1978-Jul-fwd-33 Science under all-out attack as capitalism decays (GD) (file)

1978-08Aug21a Letter Dale Ritch to B. Emery (BC) re *Forward* support

1978-08Aug99 Alberta Democrat: "New Democrat sues gov't over RCMP"

1978-11Nov19a Forward Editorial Board discussion by W.R.

1978-11Nov-fwd-34 Stop branch plant closures! Why no NDP gain?

1978-11Nov-fwd-34 Why didn't NDP gain from anti-Trudeau protest?

1978-11Nov-fwd-34 Thanks to supporters—New Forward books address

1978-11Nov-fwd-34 NDP fields slate in Toronto contest

1978-Nov-fwd-34 Editors question Toronto alderman's letter

1978-Nov-fwd-34 Conflict over RCMP raises Watergate cry

1978-Nov-fwd-34 Deeper than Watergate – RCMP crisis won't fade

1978-Nov-fwd-34 Quebec referendum (Trudeau's 'reforms' undermine)

1978-Nov-fwd-34 Acadians call constituent assembly to plan future (on file)

1978-Nov-fwd-34 Cross-country with the NDP—Women's conference

1978-Nov-fwd-34 Revives student action—Unity behind York U. strike

1978-Nov-fwd-34 Oh Canada-- Sears demotes Eaton's – wages too high?

1978-Nov-fwd-34 Nicaragua revolt—Shah of Iran faces protest surge (on file)

1978-Nov-fwd-34 On the Line—Fake building trades (union) autonomy

1978-12Dec3a (undated) Flyer: York U.: Vote United Left Coalition

1978-97a RD notes re Ward 6 NDP: motion for municipal party label

1978-98a "Organizational Report" of Socialist League

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1979-02Feb00 Forward Group bulletin (RD handwritten note)

1979-02Feb-fwd-35 RCMP subversive list circulates thru government circles

*1979-Feb-fwd-35 Shah (of Iran) dumped, fight goes on (on file)

1979-02Feb-fwd-35 BC NDP condemns nuclear development

*1979-Feb-fwd-35 Editorial—Challenge to disarm US-dominated NATO

*1979-Feb-fwd-35 Oh Canada-US banks–Diminished Cdn holdings in LA

1979-02Feb-fwd-35 NDP Toronto election gains raise far-ranging challenge

1979-02Feb-fwd-35 PQ broadens support – Nationalizing US asbestos

1979-02Feb-fwd-35 Quebec bankworkers first win

1979-02Feb-fwd-35 Gov't body confirms French no danger to safety in air

1979-02Feb-fwd-35 NDP editor's guts turned as Schreyer named G-G

1979-02Feb-fwd-35 Cross-country with the NDP—NDPers hit Sask. Policy

*1979-Feb-fwd-35 Lewis' History of the CCF-NDP – by Norman Penner (file)

1979-05May-fwd-36 Make it count—Vote NDP Oppose arms drive

1979-05May-fwd-36 Socialist Rights Fund aids Dowson court case (launched)

*1979-May-fwd-36 Rebuts RCMP slander of socialists (Dowson-Pt.1/3)

*1979-May-fwd-36 Rebuts RCMP slander of socialists ('Dowson vs RCMP')

*1979-May-fwd-36 RCMP forgery, falsehoods admitted at Krever hearings

*1979-May-fwd-36 Unions branded 'subversive' (Saskatchewan) (on file)

1979-05May-fwd-36 Federalist impasse shows need (for) new constitution

*1979-May-fwd-36 Quebec on way to sovereignty (Henry Milner view) (on file)

*1979-May-fwd-36 China-Viet conflict violates socialist solidarity (on file)

1979-05May-fwd-36 NDP rounds out its platform on women

1979-05May-fwd-36 NDP's municipal campaign comes under attack

1979-05May-fwd-36 Judge ignores electorate and convicts NDP trustees

*1979-May-fwd-36 We're living on a nuclear powderkeg (US reactor) (on file)

1979-05May-fwd-36 Now your turn to act—Come to aid of Forward

1979-07July20 Letter from Forward Fund Drive

1979-07Jul-fwd-37 PQ united for yes vote (referendum)

*1979-Jul-fwd-37 Canada crisis requires NDP clarify party program

*1979-Jul-fwd-37 Broadbent avoids socialism in industrial strategy (on file)

*1979-Jul-fwd-37 Nuclear power debate – moratorium –no damn atoms

*1979-Jul-fwd-37 Urges prosecution RCMP criminals (Dowson vs RCMP)

*1979-Jul-fwd-37 Rebuts RCMP slander of socialists (Dowson-Pt.2/3)

*1979-Jul-fwd-37 Rebuts RCMP slander of socialists (Dowson vs RCMP)

1979-07Jul-fwd-37 Rebuts RCMP (out to cripple labor) *(article box insert)*

1979-07Jul-fwd-37 Cross-country with the NDP—Ont. protests Iran arrests

1979-07Jul-fwd-37 Metro NDP clears way to (run) on municipal plane

1979-07Jul-fwd-37 Clearing way for *Forward* fund drive

1979-09Sept00a Circular to Fellow New Democrats re: policy statement

1979-09Sept00b "As Canada's unemployment rate continues to (rise)"

1979-09Sept00c "In finding a solution we must begin..."

1979-09Sep-fwd-38 Keep PetroCan public—PQ takes over asbestos

*1979-Sep-fwd-38 Quebec unions debate referendum support (on file)

1979-09Sep-fwd-38 Letter to CLC on nuclear safety—Workers' control

*1979-Sep-fwd-38 Steel union demanding safety in uranium mines (on file)

1979-09Sep-fwd-38 Public ownership only mechanism – NDP leaders urge

1979-09Sep-fwd-38 Chrysler crisis – need nationalization & Canadian car

1979-09Sep-fwd-38 'NDP has no coherent.... leadership' – Toronto MPP

1979-09Sep-fwd-38 Cross-country with the NDP-(Unionist) addresses (NDP)

1979-09Sep-fwd-38 (Dowson) Rebut RCMP slanders (Pt.3/3) (Article insert)

1979-09Sep-fwd-38-8 Last chance to kick in your share (*Forward* fund drive)

1979-11Nov22a Flyer: Resolution on Justice adopted at NDP convention

1979-11Nov22b *Star* clip: "Mountie secrets given to Crown privileged"

*1979-99 Undated flyer for condo residents re: highrise development

1979-11Nov-fwd-38 Option for Canada—NDP convention discussion paper

*1979-Nov-fwd-38 'Masters In Our Own House'

*1979-Nov-fwd-38 Canadians and Québécois will always be countrymen

*1979-Nov-fwd-38 Shake off narrow federalism – For working class unity

*1979-Nov-fwd-38 Socialism via Association (Henry Milner, English author

*1979-Nov-fwd-38 Equal to Equal By Association (Simon Rosenbloom)

*1979-Nov-fwd-38 Force and fear? (Mel Watkins, ex-Waffle leader)

1979-12Dec-fwd-39 Quebec prepares to choose future—NDP Left launched

1979-12Dec-fwd-3 NDP is washed up in Quebec—Laberge (union leader)

1979-12Dec-fwd-39 Quebec's women unionists unite on equal rights fight

1979-12Dec-fwd-39 Responses to the (PQ) White Paper (from right & left)

1979-12Dec-fwd-39 Que. unions demand expropriation of runaway firm

*1979-Dec-fwd-39 Editorial—Left launched at NDP convention

*1979-Dec-fwd-39 Dowson suit against RCMP awaits federal court ruling

*1979-Dec-fwd-39 NDP convention supports lawsuit against RCMP

*1979-Dec-fwd-39 Lawyer (Kopyto) explains historic challenge to RCMP

*1979-Dec-fwd-39 (Nuclear (power) debate in (Saskatchewan) NDP

*1979-Dec-fwd-39 Oh Canada-Bank Act rushed as concession to US banks

*1979-Dec-fwd-39 Commemoration of Trotsky Centennial

PM fuddles, jobs vanish

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forward

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Opportunity to change course

By the editors

Close to 2,000 NDP supporters and activists will assemble in Toronto February 3-5 at the ITT Sheraton Hotel for the ninth bi-annual convention of the Ontario NDP.

The convention comes at a critical time in the lives of Ontario's working people and in the lives of NDPers. Record levels of unemployment, inflation, and the imminent destruction of Ontario's already underdeveloped manufacturing sector highlight the crisis of a resource-based capitalist economy dominated by U.S. multinational corporations. Nor is there any prospect of meaningful improvement.

The future path of the NDP must be analyzed in the context of the chronic crisis of capitalism. The period of consistent economic growth, during which labor governments won reforms in the past, is now winding to a close, both in Canada and in the rest of the industrialized world. Socialism is increasingly becoming a question of burning necessity which can no longer be relegated to the sweet by and by.

The moderate reform perspective of the current NDP leadership has proven itself incapable of building a movement to hold back the developing capitalist offensive against social services. In Manitoba and Ontario, the NDP has suffered major electoral setbacks, notwithstanding the so-called moderate image cultivated by the leadership. In this arena too, the times cry out for new directions.

Together with the economic crisis, the election results have created an increasingly critical attitude in the minds of NDP activists. Members increasingly reject the idea that socialist principles must be sacrificed for ephemeral electoral gain, or that the leader shouldn't be bound by any program. The Dovercourt Resolution (unfortunately dropped from the convention floor on the dubious grounds that it only restates party policy) and numerous resolutions on public ownership indicate this new mood in the ONDP.

Although several dozen excellent resolutions have been submitted in all policy areas, perhaps the most important discussions will occur in the section on Industry and Economic Strategy. Policy adopted in this area will set the tone for the party's activities in the next period. Two priority resolutions from Dovercourt and Nickle Belt call for the immediate nationalization of INCO and Falconbridge and offer a formula for placing these companies under public control. A further priority resolution from St. Davids offers a

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What real choice in leadership race?

by Wayne Roberts

Delegates to the ninth Ontario NDP convention will be asked to elect a new party leader to replace Stephen Lewis, the man who led the party to the gates of power only to preside over our decline to third party status.

Lewis' attempts to present himself as a leader who could "run the shop" better than the Liberals or Tories was convincing neither to the

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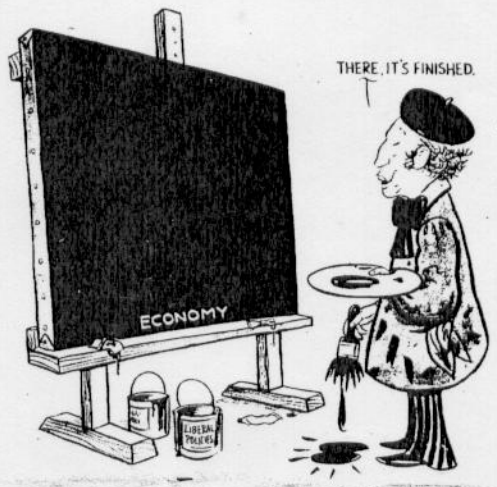
Labor posing struggle for shorter work week

By P. Kent

The Number One problem confronting the country from coast to coast is unemployment. That's how the over 2¼ million strong Canadian Congress of Labor and its political arm, the New Democratic Party, see it. And it is on these grounds that have presented a series of demands to meet this crisis—over one million unemployed, with workers between 15-24 (27% of the population) accounting for 48% of the jobless, and in some areas, entire towns and communities facing disaster.

When challenged to act last month, Prime Minister Trudeau openly declared that his government has no special plans to counter the raging inflation and unemployment. He brushed aside the demands of the opposition with the comment that there are bound to be "ups and downs" in the economy, as if this was at worst a short downer. Unemployment Minister Cullen intoned in the house the old adage about the tortoise and the hare- "slow and steady wins the race," and told reporters that the system "is probably working as well as it can." The unemployed's futile job-seeking at plants already drastically paring back their staff, he cynically said, "is probably one of the greatest assets we have going for us."

Not only has Trudeau committed his government to resist with everything at its disposal labor's demands for a vast program of housing rehabilitation, capital works projects, tax cuts for low and middle income families, etc. This month's federal-provincial meeting of finance ministers solidly lined up behind his zero-growth government spending. "They all agree," boasted Chretien, "that public spending cannot solve the problem. We must solve it through stimulating the private sector." While conceding nothing to the demands of the unemployed, the government has made it clear that it is going to give even more to the corporate rulers in the form of tax credits (at a time when there is too much capital and plant). They are even considering the Toronto-Dominion bankers' suggestion of an inverse income tax, which allows the corporations squeezing out the most profits to pay the lowest taxes.



Sudbury demands action against Inco

By Ellie Kirzner

If the present feeling for the public ownership of INCO and Falconbridge continues to develop, Sudbury could become the symbol, not of corporate callousness and ghost towns, but of the Canadian workers' fight to remake the economy.

From Sudbury's first mass rally which demanded the nationalization of INCO, to the new collaboration between Mine Mill and Steel, to the human solidarity demonstrated by the Falconbridge workers' share-the-work proposal, the Sudbury community has communicated its willingness to carry the fight.

But despite the growing sentiment for public ownership, key trade union and NDP leaders have retreated. Ed Broadbent has limited his demand to the stockpiling of nickel, apparently cowed by the press's free-enterprise ravings. Ontario Steelworkers director Stewart Cooke, attempting to defeat a nationalize INCO resolution at the OFL convention in December, charged that such a demand would undermine public sympathy for the union. Stephen Lewis, who told the Sudbury mass rally that INCO should "enter gently in the public domain," appears to have backed down. Since November, the provincial NDP caucus has not uttered a peep about public ownership. More strange still is the current silence of Northern NDP MPP's and MP's like Laughren and Rodriguez who are known to have strong public ownership positions on INCO. It seems a bizarre moment to be tactful.

Broadbent's and Lewis' demands for an end to tax concessions and pollution exemptions, and the Steel leadership's insistence on "good-faith" bargaining with INCO, occasionally coupled with purely abstracted tip-of-the-hat calls for long-term government presence in the resource sector, all betray a stunning routinism in the midst of this profound crisis. For we are clearly not dealing here within a normal bargaining context —but with a company which is holding a whole community up for ransom! There is simply no bargaining leverage to be had with a huge pack-sack multinational which will promptly reply to stringent pollution controls and tighter tax concessions by pulling up stakes and moving to the cheaper surface mining of the third world.

The nationalization of INCO and Falconbridge would mean, as Simon Rosenblum points out in an article researched for the Nickelbelt NDP, "the socializing of profits not losses" as other public takeovers have meant. It would make possible an industrial strategy for the mid-North based on diversification. As Rosenblum so aptly phrased it, "the private sector has had 75 years to develop a secondary manufacturing industry in Sudbury," but has done nothing.

From the hard-fought resolution on public ownership of INCO passed at the OFL convention to the many resolutions submitted to the NDP convention, it is clear that a strong and shared sentiment has emerged. What better place to launch a campaign than at the Ontario NDP convention where a strong resolution on public ownership of INCO and Falconbridge could press reluctant union and NDP leaders into living up to their public responsibilities. As Jack Gignac, president of the Mine Mill local at Falconbridge, declared to thunderous applause at the Sudbury rally: "Any politician in his right mind who opposes the nationalizations of these industries cannot claim to represent the working class."

Aware of the profound character of the present crisis, the CLC has now for the first time put forward a national industrial strategy. It aims to turn away the Canadian economy from an essentially resources extracting economy to the profit of the U.S. corporate elite and their Canadian corporate junior allies. Pointing out that "investment decisions can no longer be left solely to the market or private enterprise to decide," the CLC executive council statement of December 14-15 demands that "a greater share of future investment is used to strengthen and diversify our manufacturing."

This of course does not negate the immediate demands that labor and the NDP are making, which it is now apparent the government could only be compelled to concede when faced with a truly massive popular mobilization. But there is one demand that has been coming to the fore which even the smallest local can feed into and help to mobilize the pressure for government implementation of it and other of labor's demands—that is the shorter work week at the same take home pay, sometimes expressed in the slogan 30 for 40—30 hours work for 40 hours pay.

In order to increase employment opportunities for their own members faced with layoffs, last fall's Canadian Paperworkers convention urged their locals to negotiate a shorter work week with no reduction in pay. The Saskatchewan Federation of Labor has complemented the CLC's program with a call for the implementation of a 32-hour work week. The 24th International Metal Workers Congress held in Munich, W. Germany last fall, called for a world wide struggle for the shorter work week. Such a demand would serve to unite the forces of organized labor and win the support of the unorganized and unemployed in a struggle that could hope to win other demands.

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corporate financiers of those two parties, nor to the majority of working people in the province, who are the NDP's real constituency.

At the same time, his pandering to the press and middle class public opinion undermined the possibilities of building the NDP as an ongoing and fighting movement which could win working people to an understanding of the program needed to come to grips with Ontario's problems.

The three contenders aspiring to replace Lewis are confronted with the same challenge that Lewis was unable to meet. Voting delegates should carefully analyze the programs and past performances to see which of the three candidates, if any, offers a new direction for the party—a direction which can provide socialist solutions to the economic crisis, and build the NDP as an ongoing movement. In assessing this

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possibility, we must confront the fact that neither Deans nor Breaugh nor Cassidy has been known as a socialist in the legislature or noted for arguing left-wing positions in the caucus.

Ian Deans has been seen by many as the establishment candidate, garnering the support of 16 caucus members, including respected "moderates" Donald Macdonald and Jim Renwick. Deans enjoys solid support from the top Steel brass who were instrumental in purging the Waffle from the NDP in 1972. He has also been supported by unionists with a more left image such as CUPE's Kealey Cummings. Deans was a supporter of the War Measures Act in 1970.

Michael Cassidy, identified with the intellectual, middle class layers of the party rather than the trade union or socialist elements, has nonetheless succeeded in winning over some left-wingers such as Jim Laxer, Joe Davidson, Ed Ziemba and Lofty MacMillan. This left-wing support appears to be due more to regional loyalties, hostility to the labor brass and some appeal to municipally oriented activists than to any belief that Cassidy is a socialist. Their endorsations confuse the picture of his base of support in the current provincial executive, almost half of which supports Cassidy. The provincial executive must, of course, bear co-responsibility with Lewis for the conduct of the last election campaign.

Breaugh was initially backed by a group of the more left-wing MPPs, including Tony Lupusella, Floyd Laughren, and Odoardo DiSanto. More recently, party and trade union establishment figures such as Ed Broadbent, Cliff Pilkey, Gord Wilson and Terry Meagher have jumped on the bandwagon. Breaugh was supported by the left-wingers not because he was a socialist, which most admitted he was not, but because he was seen as the least of three evils, a person whom the left would work with once in power. It was also thought possible that Breaugh could be pushed farther to the left during the campaign, thus legitimizing certain socialist ideas and concerns.

None of the leadership candidates has openly criticized Lewis or the party leadership, although all three have talked about the need to return the party back to its grass roots origins and give the party ranks more control over the decision-making process. Similarly, all three have emphasized the need to tie the trade union movement more organically to the party.

Most important, all three candidates have stated that they have no real ideological differences. Although all state that their main economic concern is developing policy to deal with the underdeveloped and disintegrating manufacturing sector, none of them has elaborated a concrete program to solve the economic crisis. Most glaring in its absence is a lack of firm commitment by any of the candidates to a strategy of public ownership and socialist planning to replace the anarchy of the capitalist market.

All three candidates have made tactical shifts to the left during the course of the campaign. Cassidy proposed that the uranium mines in Elliot Lake should be nationalized, while Breaugh has called for the nationalization of INCO. Deans, in turn, has committed himself to the party plank which calls for public ownership of the resource sector. However, his reluctance to clearly support the nationalization of INCO, surely an obvious case for public ownership if there ever was one, indicates that Deans is not serious about public ownership. Likewise, the "overall" significance of Breaugh's support for the nationalization of INCO must be questioned in the light of the fact that Ed Broadbent, the most important figure behind his campaign, is opposed to calling for the nationalization of INCO at this time. Cassidy, meanwhile, with his waffling on the $4 an hour minimum wage plank has compromised himself as a candidate deserving the support of the left.

These left excursions of the three candidates seem to have come not so much from any principled conviction, but from an attempt to woo the left-wing sentiment emerging all over the province, crystallized in the Dovercourt riding's "Restatement of Fundamental Principles" which has been passed by over 70 riding associations. Thus all three candidates have endorsed the several points of the Dovercourt statement, although with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

In terms of policy, committed support and past performance, there is little or nothing to choose between the three. The only guarantee that will prevent the new leader, whoever he is, from following in Lewis' footsteps and trading off the party's socialist policies and principles for the nebulous reward of a more moderate image, is the organized and conscious will of the party rank and file.

At this convention, there will be tremendous pressures on all delegates to support one of the three candidates, even though in many areas of the party, particularly amongst left-wingers, there is very little enthusiasm for any of the three candidates. Although we all support the party leader, once elected, whoever he is, delegates who are disappointed at the lack of a clear socialist alternative should consider casting a blank vote on the first ballot. This could be a positive indicator to the new leader that there is a body of opinion in the party which will insist on the party moving in a socialist direction and could mark a beginning of a coalescence of a left wing. In the event of some as yet unforeseen polarization around some key issue on the second ballot which would give delegates a real choice, such a course of action will still allow delegates to participate in the voting on the second ballot, if they so choose.

forward #31
Editor: Wayne Roberts
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Branch plants pack up

With unemployment in Canada at its worst since the Depression, with a million workers jobless, the announcement of large-scale and extended layoffs from U.S. branch plant operations in Canada strikes a severe blow to thousands of Canadian families.

So far, a partial list includes the following U.S. subsidiaries: 800 at Chrysler's Windsor plant, 450 miners at the Aluminum Co. of Canada's fluorspar mine in Newfoundland, 708 at Christie's Bread in Toronto, 300 at the Ford Assembly line in Oakville, 300 at Bethlehem Steel's iron ore mine near Peterborough, and 400 at International Harvester in Hamilton. Even the Thom McAn shoe store chain is closing down its 16 Canadian stores. 875 workers at Anaconda Canada Ltd. in Etobicoke may also be losing their jobs as Atlantic Richfield of Los Angeles, which recently bought Anaconda's parent company in the U.S., contemplates whether to close or look for a buyer.

Coming on the heels of the INCO and Falconbridge layoffs, which threw 3,000 Canadians into the streets and threatens the entire Sudbury basin, these layoffs are a product of the natural flow of U.S. capital back home in a time of economic rationalization, aided by the "bring 'em back home" tax cuts for U.S. corporations recently announced by the Carter administration. Even former federal Liberal finance minister Walter Gordon stated January 19 that U.S. control of Canadian industry which prevents these subsidiaries from vying for world markets with their parent companies, results in lost jobs for Canada.

As U.S. subsidiaries pack their bags, a University of Alberta economist, Tom Powrie, announced the results of a comprehensive study covering the role of U.S. capital in Canada since 1950. His conclusion showed foreign capital playing a minimal and insignificant role in developing the Canadian economy, and exposed the continentalist myth that foreign investment creates jobs for Canadians, and strongly suggests that these investments are in fact hurting our standard of living.

Another important study by Ottawa consultant John L. Orr, issued by the Committee for an Independent Canada, argues that "Canada is well on her way from being a branch-plant economy to becoming a warehouse economy...More particularly, because of their technological dependence, they (foreign-owned subsidiaries) are generally incapable of developing new or original products, thereby limiting the future growth of our industrial sector and denying Canadians the opportunity for creative and rewarding employment."

With the exception of the car industry, U.S. subsidiaries are largely concentrated in assembly-line and other peripheral economic ventures tied to the protected Canadian market. These branch plants are the first to close or move in a time of economic rationalization. Instead of updating plant equipment, thereby maintaining jobs, developing an export capacity and increasing its competitive position, U.S. capital would rather pull out or close down when capital costs cut into its bloated profits.

In return for exploiting our resources, our environment and our labor, U.S. capital expects these plants to ship their capital to the south, draining our economy, eliminating jobs, preventing the development of secondary manufacturing industries and creating a major environmental overhead in the resource industry.

U.S. branch plants, by their very position in their corporate structures, must respond to the needs of their head offices back home, and since this almost always means curtailing development of export-oriented Canadian subsidiaries, these plants will continue to drain Canada's capital needs while distorting the balance of Canada's economy.

Public ownership and public control—these tools can save jobs, keep these plants running and keep Canada's economy going. These tools can be used to assert Canadian workers' control and sovereignty over an economy controlled by U.S. capital.

The game is up on Ottawa's tall stories about how U.S. investment creates jobs and modernizes industry. The ties of investment capital to U.S. parents merely accentuates the parastical role of capitalist production for profit. It is up to Canadian workers in the towns and industries affected to take over these plants, assert their control and sovereignty over the economy and begin the task of creating an economy responsive to the needs of Canadian workers.

The Canadian Left - a critical analysis

An appreciation of Norman Penner's book

By Ross Dowson

(from FORWARD February 1978)

Of all the books, pamphlets and articles that have come out of the radicalization of the sixties — and they truly do constitute not only a quantitative but a qualitative advance in socialist thought in this country – Norman Penner's *The Canadian Left—a critical analysis*, is one of the most important. Certainly it is the most stimulating and the most controversial.

According to Penner: "In Quebec it was the Quiet Revolution and the new Quebec nationalism that gave socialism its impetus in this period. In English Canada it was a new national consciousness that arose in the wake of the crisis of U.S. imperialism and the perceived threat of U.S. domination of Canada, that produced as one of its consequences the radicalization of the youth movement and out of that, the growth of a new socialist variant."

The major concern of the new socialist intellectuals who have come out of this radicalization, such as Clement, Naylor, Panitch, Teeple, Gonick, Laxer and Rioux, has been the development and structure of the Canadian economy and the politics of those who have controlled it, the indigenous Canadian and the imperialist British and U.S. capitalist class. From this foundation, these sometimes called "left nationalists," like Marx and others who have followed his inspired lead, stand in the anti-capitalist opposition — with the working class and for socialism. While all to varying degrees identify themselves with the politics of the left, they have only in part dealt with the implications of their work for that class. With this book Penner moves into that gap.

To be sure, others have assayed aspects of Canadian working class politics—the early socialist movement, the farmers movements, women at work, the Communist Party, the CCF, the NDP, and the trade union movement. Some of this work suffers from the authors' lack of any real experience in the movement, from the fact that it is pioneering; and, some of it is narrowly partisan and, self-serving. In general it has not met the basic requirements of a really, scientific historiography.

But there could be no greater theme. Official histories record the doings of specialists in the line of ruling — kings and queens, ministers, bureaucrats, parliamentarians, journalists. In Penner's book, we see the strivings of the working class to enter into the political arena on their own behalf, first attempting to utilize the instruments at hand, and then to build their own parties, to develop their own program and their own strategy that would eliminate the rule of capital over labor and lay the foundations for a socialist democracy.

Penner, unlike most academics, does not stand to the side pretending impartiality. He has a bias and, in respect of his readers, he makes no attempt to conceal it. In his

summary words he turns to his fellow intellectuals who as Marxists, he says, have the "aim of influencing the direction of socialist thought along revolutionary lines." He tells the revolutionary socialists, the new Marxist groups, that "the role they attempt of competing with or replacing social democratic movements such as the NDP or Parti Québécois is the least productive and most frustrating." He notes that "so far they have made little contact with the class conscious workers who support the NDP. Nevertheless," he expresses both the conviction and the hope that "as in the past, the activities of the Marxist left merge with those of the social democratic forces to strengthen the overall socialist presence in Canada."

The validity of Penner's critical analysis of the Canadian left, which opens with a short study of the shaping of Canadian ideology and the origins and genesis of the socialist idea to 1921, and his prescription for what he describes as a "new socialist variant," can be judged with the aid of the extensive material that he makes available in his book.

One of the myths that the leadership of the CCF and many NDP leaders today continue to foster is that Marxism is completely alien to Canadian political life, together with its Leninist-Trotskyist expression which they equate, when it suits their purpose, with its antithesis, with the practices of the acolytes of Stalin and his heirs at the head of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The ideology of the CCF-NDP, they incant, like the immaculate conception, springs uniquely from the Canadian soil; or, still thinking in the framework of the days when a British connection was the guarantee of legitimacy. they claim, that it was sired by the Fabian society.

Penner deprives the CCF and NDP ideologues of this odious privilege. The British immigrants didn't bring over the liberal-reformist ideology of the Fabians, but the Marxism of the Independent Labor Party. It was under this influence that the Canadian Left up to World War I was predominantly Marxist and "registered two main achievements: implanting and popularizing Marxist ideas, and building the trade union movement."

In the great wealth of carefully researched information that Penner presents on the Communist Party, the CCF-NDP, and to a lesser degree on the Quebec socialist movement, three great themes predominate: the Canadian national question (Canada-U.S. relations), the labor party question (the NDP), and the Quebec question (nationalism and socialism).

It was the fledgling Communist Party, which predates the formationof the CCF by some twelve years, that first attempted to seriously come to grips with the Canadian political economy, and specifically the status of Canada — whether it was a British or a U.S. colony, a U.S. dependency, or an independent imperialist power in its own right. This debate, heralded once again with great passion some 34 years later in 1969 by the launching of the Waffle in the NDP, continues to this day in the Canadian Left.

The founding leaders of the CP considered that they were laying down the foundations for the vanguard party of the Leninist type, with a politics, not exclusively parliamentarist like the Fabians, but class struggle — mass action oriented — that would lead the coming Canadian socialist revolution. Yet despite all its promising connections, they were very much aware that at best it was only the nucleus of such a party. Outside its' ranks were the great mass of the workers, organized and unorganized, whose mobilization would be required if the workers were to attain state power. And there were longstanding and powerful sentiments for a mass labor party, to which the Trades and Labour Congress responded in 1917 with the formal launching of the federated Canadian Labour Party. Hence, what has become known as the labor party question confronted the youthful CP even at its birth.

Even with the formation of the CCF in 1933, it was not until some ten years later that one section of the organized labor movement endorsed it as its political arm, and not until another 18 years that the united labor movement endorsed the New Democratic Party. Today, in the form of the NDP, the labor party question remains a pivotal question in the politics of the socialist revolution.

Penner's coverage of the Quebec Left and the challenge of the national question is sketchier than his coverage of the other two themes. But it is all the more important as a contribution to the question of not only where Quebec is going, but Canada itself.

While Penner opens up the discussion of the Canadian national question with quotes from a March 1925 article by Tim Buck which argues, despite the Confederation of 1867, that Canada is "still a colony, still part of the Empire upon which the sun never sets," the party's recognized top theoretician, Maurice Spector, was already commenting in the pages of *The Worker* on the escalating displacement of British economic and political influence by that of the U.S. capitalist class. In a Nov. 24, 1924 editorial he challenged: "It is for the workers of Canada to work for complete independence from the ties of British imperialism and at the same time to gird their loins for the struggle against the Morgan dictatorship."

Penner notes Specter's important contribution of Jan/Feb 1928 in the first issue of the party's theoretical journal which he edited, and quotes extensively Tim Buck's swan song of January 1930. In it, Buck outlined the main parameters of the debate as he ignominiously capitulated to the Comintem dictate that Canada has a developed capitalist economy of the classic mould, an independent capitalist class, and is an imperialist power in its own right. Spector, by then brutally expelled for "Trotskyism" and fighting for his political life does not return to this question. Besides, the fate of the Canadian cadre is now being decided by other questions and events: in the streets of Berlin and the prisons of Spain — Stalin's theory of social fascism and the Popular Front — and in the Moscow Frame-up Trials which murdered Lenin's party. This debate on the national question, which portended all the major questions posed today, would appear to have surfaced again in the CP in the fifties and sixties. But contrary to Penner, in our opinion, with a completely different purpose and in a totally different form.

Penner draws the ominous balance sheet: "With the expulsion of Maurice Spector,

long recognized as its theoretical leader, in 1928, and of Jack MacDonald, its General Secretary, in 1929, the Canadian Communist Party swung behind the Stalin leadership, and henceforth never wavered from that position."

Henceforth the Stalinized CP's analysis and propaganda would have little or nothing at all to do with a scientific analysis and a political program in the interest of the struggle for a socialist Canada, but everything to do with the varied conjunctural needs of the bureaucratic caste that had grown up in the isolated workers' state, in its maneuvers between the rival imperialist powers. They were determined not by the needs of the struggle for a socialist Canada, but by the requirements of "collective security" and "peaceful coexistence." Henceforth the CP's policy was class collaborationist to the core, resulting in a torrent of violations of the most elementary and basic principles of Marxism, and hence of the interests of the working class movement. Among them: an all-out campaign, rejected by the union leadership, to commit labor to a no-strike pledge during World War II; a mobilization of its forces which failed to convince the Québécois to vote yes for conscription; the hailing of the U.S. bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima; and blatant support of the Mackenzie King Liberal Party to defeat labor's endorsed party, the CCF.

The labor party question — the problem of orienting to the working class as a whole, as they move from trade union consciousness to political consciousness — was met by the early Communist Party in a vigorous and innovative way. Instead of presenting the CP as an ultimatum to the workers, they boldly placed themselves in the thick of the struggle to build and shape the Canadian Labor Party. The party ranks joined the federated party and placed themselves at the head of building it. They developed a program of democratic and transitional demands and ran effective election campaigns which in some areas placed their members in civic office. Reflecting the centrality that it gave to the labor party question, the CP's General Secretary Jack MacDonald became, the same time, the president of the Canadian Labor Party. In the columns of *The Worker*, Spector openly sided with CP leader Ruthenberg who, against the majority leadership of the U.S. CP, opposed the dropping of the labor party slogan there, in the face of the debacle of the Lafollette campaign. Spector rejected the categorization of the Canadian Labor Party as a reformist or social democratic party, and instead projected it as having a revolutionary dynamic.

With the subsequent ebb in the radicalization and increasing red-baiting from the right, the Canadian CP faced increasing difficulties. With the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, the labor party question along with the national question became Trotskyist heresies and the Canadian CP was swung into an ultra-leftist direction. By 1933 and the founding of the CCF, the Communist Party was trumpeting the Comintern theory that social reformism and fascism are only different methods employed by the capitalists to sustain their rule. Along with its all-out campaign against the CCF and its assault on the integrity of its leaders as social fascists, the CP concentrated its fire above all on the scattering of Marxists who helped found the CCF. Since then, with conjunctural modifications, the CP has waged a consistent war against the labor party as expressed in the CCF and now the NDP, and especially on left-wing formations that have persistently

developed within them.

If the CP can still be conceived as being Marxist, as does Penner in his summary chapters, on what other grounds could this be than that it has persisted in rationalizing its policies and its existence with the rhetoric of Marxism. In reality it is a reformist party of a new type which more than anything else has proven to be a graveyard for socialist cadre.

Problems of space do not permit us to deal with the important chapter "Roots and Sources of Social Democracy" on the CCF and the NDP. But the essence of Penner's conclusions could perhaps be said to be expressed in two sentences in the summary: "At every stage, the character of social democracy and the kind of leaders it produces reflect fairly accurately the level of class consciousness which the radical section of the working class has attained. It represents the spontaneous striving of these people towards a form of socialism."

In one of his summary chapters, Penner. notes the emergence of several new Trotskyist groups alongside the Trotskyist movement's extended existence as the League for Socialist Action. He appears to attribute this, not to the efforts of its supporters to apply Trotsky's Marxist views insofar as they are relevant to the configurations of the Canadian class struggle, but to the resurgence of interest in Trotsky himself.

Nowhere does he deal with the Trotskyist movement as such, which has had a relatively high profile in the Canadian Left since 1945, particularly at the high point of the youth radicalization in the sixties, and, though of a more erratic character, nonetheless a continued existence ever since Spector and MacDonald launched it in 1930. Penner does not even list any of its publications in his bibliography of variegated newspapers and periodicals of the Left.

This omission is unfortunate not from any petty, partisan point of view, but because much of what Penner discusses on the CP, and particularly the CCF-NDP, was reported on and analyzed in the Trotskyist press as it actually unfolded. And in this writer's opinion, in a way that parallels in many respects the analysis developed in this book. Perhaps Penner considers that, with the Stalinization and the failure of the first effort to build a revolutionary socialist vanguard, the second effort also failed, for no matter what reasons, and therefore has little of value to offer to the forces who pose a new socialist variant. We do not know.

This we do know — that this group of militant socialists, singled out for special harassment by the CP and by the NDP brass, entered into the youth radicalization with every ounce of energy at their disposal. There, they were differentiated from other developing currents, above all by their efforts to deepen the youth radicalization by linking it to the organized labor movement and the NDP even as now, confident that capitalism itself is generating forces that will reshape them to socialist purposes. We also know that no other tendency has had such an in-depth and extended experience with the labor party question from which the new Marxists can learn. (No matter — the latest

Revolutionary Workers League abomination that the NDP is the principle obstacle to socialist revolution in English Canada.)

This is the chief merit of this history of *The Canadian Left* that Penner has presented to us. It is not an accumulation of old facts and figures. It is not an attempt to rehash old fights and make a decision on them. It is an attempt to look at the tumultuous history of the Canadian Left, to probe it, and to grapple with what there is in it to give us new and useful insights into the major themes that challenge today's generation of fighters for a socialist Canada.

Penner's book can play a useful role in the discussions and exchanges of experiences among the new Marxists that could result in a regroupment of forces and enable them to play the role that Marxism demands of them in the living movement of the working class.

forward #31 Feb 1978

Sun Life threat and PQ laws

Strengthen moves to Quebec independence

By John Morgan

As the independantiste Parti Quebecois government in Quebec adopts some of the most advanced legislation in North America, it has drawn not only the peeved ire of the federalist Liberal regime in Ottawa but increasingly dark forebodings from the corporate community that sits astride the province's economy.

The employers' Conseil du Patronat president Ghislain Dufour recently complained he's lost every battle so far with the "autocratic and socialist" PQ government—specifically, Bill 45 (anti-scab law), Bill 101 (French language law), takeover plans for part of the asbestos mining industry, and state auto insurance. Reginald Broome, who manages both the Queen Elizabeth Hotel and the Montreal Board of Trade finds the minimum wage law (at $3.15, the highest on the continent) a thorn in his side.

Sowing panic, Federal Finance Minister Jean Chretien, while bestowing upon Quebec several massive construction projects, warned Quebecois that the PQ government "means troubled days ahead". He foretold a rapid outflow of population, companies and private investment, and rapidly increasing unemployment as the ills which the threat of an independent Quebec might wrought upon all. Taking up Ottawa's cue to challenge the PQ's Bill 101 which would make French the language of work, the giant Sun Life Assurance announced it intended to move its 1,800 employees out of its layercake Head Office in Montreal, to Toronto. The sensation created across Canada by the news was explained by James Sinclair, one of Sun Life's blue-chip directors, who complained: "All Levesque has to do to stop this hemorrhage is to announce head offices can operate in English and (executives') families can send their children to English or French schools." Never mind that Bill 101 already exempts children of executives temporarily moving to Quebec. Quebec Chamber of Commerce president J. M. Poitras, bewildered, pointed out that "they seem to have made the decision without knowing what the regulations are going to be."

The enforcement of Bill 101 is to be monitored by "francization committees" of six employees (two of whom must be "workers") elected by the union, or employees in companies who hire 100 or more. These companies must earn "Francization certificates" within a 3 to 5 period or face fines of from $100 to $2,000 per day. But Sun Life hardly budged even during the heyday of bilingualism (fewer than 400 of its employees are francophones), seeking its recruits from McGill and other English universities rather than the Ecole des Hauts Etudes Commerciales, whose management potential continues to be shuffled off to the civil service or small Quebec business.

Péquiste Finance Minister Jacques Parizeau denounced Sun Life's anti-French language statement as an "excuse" and struck back at the $1 billion moneybags where it hurt most: he revealed that of every dollar they fattened themselves with in Quebec, only 60¢ was re-invested in the province (against $1.20 in Ontario and $1.71 in B.C.). Federal law prohibits insurance companies from exporting from Canada more capital than they import from policies—so Parizeau countered with a demand that Sun Life return $400 million it owed Quebec.

Premier Levesque joined in the attack on Sun Life for denying Quebec's "normal evolution" and added that its move "will provide a good opportunity to illustrate the vicious circle which Quebec must break out of." Quebec Federation of Labor leader Laberge called for a union boycott and cancellation of policies, echoed by CLC president Joe Morris. But it was Grace Hartman whose Canadian Union of Public Employees represents 1,200 Hydro Quebec workers, who urged Parizeau to put Sun Life under public control, branding it "a corporate pirate, plundering a province and then moving on without consulting the government and its employees."

As indignation mounted across Canada at the spectacle of the Board of Directors shoving through their decision to move by using blocs of foreign proxy votes at a special meeting in the Queen City, Toronto, Trudeau and his cabinet, disturbed that this latest example of corporate flight would boomerang to the PQ's favor, scurried off to Montreal to plead with President Galt—obtaining a delay in proxy votes and an assurance that no HQ personnel would be moved for two years.

Meanwhile, other capital such as the redoubtable General Motors, is moving into Quebec even stronger to open a new bus factory (to operate in French). Levesque referred to this fact of capitalist life in answering opposition claims that Canada would refuse any "economic association" that the PQ would pose as part of the package of its referendum on independence. Responding to Quebec Liberal threats of refusing economic association with an independent Quebec, he said "give me an example, anywhere in the world, where suppliers systematically refuse markets, buyers reject sellers and sellers reject buyers."

The PQ will carry its campaign for a "Yes" vote on the referendum (to be held in '79 or '80) to English Quebeckers as well. Justifiably so, because its social program is increasingly pro-working class, without a trace of French chauvinism or anti-English bias. Bill 45 is one of the more advanced pieces of labor legislation in the world: it prevents hiring of scabs to take strikers' jobs during a legal or illegal strike, guarantees strikers their jobs after settlement, and imposes the union checkoff on all organized units (Rand Formula). It also provides for an imposed contract in the case of newly certified unions (to be negotiated by union, management and government representatives). When militants of the Quebec-based union movement (CNTU and the teachers' CEQ) demonstrated against concessions to employers allowing them to take measures to safeguard their property and to provide continuance of essential services during strikes, the bill was amended to prevent management abuses of these provisions, before it was passed into law.

The PQ government presses forward in its bid to gain control of the Asbestos Corp. Ltd., subsidiary of General Dynamics of St. Louis, which, with mines in Thetford Mines and Ungava and a mill in Western Germany, is the largest asbestos producer in the world, with 35% of Quebec's capacity and 12% of the western world's.

Almost unannounced, a gay civil rights bill forbidding discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation was promulgated. It is illegal to fire or refuse employment or accommodation, or access to public facilities, to gays. "This was our first priority," declared Alain Bouchard, leader of the Association pour les

→p. 2

Quebec unionists demonstrate for a strong anti-scab law.

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Droits des Gai(e)s de Québec, "and it took us by surprise". He pointed out that Quebec is the only jurisdiction in the world where sexual orientation is listed in a charter of human rights.

Starting March 1st this year a compulsory state no-fault personal auto insurance plan goes into effect (where 15% of drivers are presently uninsured owing to high premiums).

Today, 40% of the Quebec electorate would vote for the PQ, according to a poll (a 5% increase over November 1976), and a whopping 87% rate the Levesque government "very good to acceptable." Thirty percent would accept sovereignty (separation with economic association) in the same poll, bearing witness that the PQ's social legislation is successfully countering Ottawa's and the corporations' efforts to intimidate the Québécois, at the same time as they give lip service to the necessity to prove to Quebec that the rest of Canada "wants" them to remain within Confederation.

It is being proven to Quebec workers, who form the backbone of the PQ's support, that they have important gains to be made on the route to an independent Quebec. For socialists to intervene in this important political experience in the development of Quebec workers, they must support the demand for independence and seek to play a role within the arena of the workers' consciousness: within the mass milieu of the Parti Québécois, where the forces of the left are coalescing and where they will take on an independent life in due course. While much of the revolutionary left is on the outside, denouncing the PQ in fulsome (and even dishonest) terms, the real processes of the radicalization are within the PQ and evolving. The Quebec workers' success in shaping the course of the PQ's legislation and the arduous struggle they are waging to force the government to act in their interests, is the crucible in which the real forces of an independent and socialist Quebec will be born.

forward #31 Feb 1978

Committee for new constitution brief

by Ellie Kirzner

An important brief prepared by the Committee for a New Constitution was submitted to the Task Force on Canadian Unity when it met in Toronto in November. Although giving ample time for the presentation of establishment briefs, the chair limited the Committee spokesperson to several minutes. The Committee withdrew from the hearing in protest.

We present some of the highlights of the brief here. The document is signed by members of the Steering Committee, among them, Mel Watkins, John Harney, Daniel Drache, Abraham Rotstein, Peter Russell, and Denis Smith.

"The Committee", the statement commences, "does not regard itself as a 'unity group' seeking to mobilize support for the Canadian federal system against the challenge of the Parti Québécois government of Quebec. It believes that the election of a Quebec government committed to the establishment of a new constitutional relationship with Canada should be regarded positively as the occasion for the adoption of a new constitution for Canada."

The British North America Act, is "an obsolete barrier to the country's political evolution...the existing model of Canadian federalism is wilfully inadequate for many of the other particularities of Canadian life such as the Dene and Inuit, the Atlantic provinces and the West." The central issue, the document points out, is the realization that there are two national entities living in this country. "We are a binational people living with uni-national political structures."

"National Unity is," the document urges, "the most dangerous of English-speaking Canada's mythologies", because it invokes a form of political racism in which the English speaking majority seeks to overwhelm the French Canadian minority.

At this present moment, there is "not one crisis in Canada but two of major proportions": one is the internal inequality between two national entities, and the other the external inequality between Canada and the United States. The "deep divisions within Canada are directly related to the far-reaching consequences of the economic crisis," attributable to foreign ownership and consequent high unemployment and regional underdevelopment. "We are becoming a semi-deindustrialized country that has regressed to a new stage of dependence..."

There is therefore an "immediate urgency to re-examine in a fundamental way, Canada's political and economic structures." Quebec has emerged stronger for its political ferment. "Now it is our turn to seize the moment and to reap the benefits of the process of change."

The document goes on to examine prospects for an economic association with Quebec. "Political and business leaders claiming to speak for English-speaking Canada, are engaging in an exercise in blackmail in order to intimidate the Quebec electorate prior to the forthcoming referendum," raising visions of the economic chaos that would result if Quebec chooses to separate. While endorsing Quebec's right to self-determination, the document hopes that genuine links at many political and economic levels may be sustained in a new arrangement." For example, "a set of common ground rules for dealing with foreign investment seems to be in the common interest of both English-speaking Canada and a politically independent Quebec."

As well, "any new constitution," the document urges, "must go further and recognize the right of Indian and Inuit peoples to survive as distinct peoples within Canada."

The dialogue on Canada's future should be carried on, the brief continues, within the limits of three basic principles: 1) the right of Quebec to choose its own constitutional future by free and democrtic means; 2) the parallel right of English speaking Canada to define its priorities, determine its constitutional features and protect its own legitimate interests; 3) the obligation of both communities to conduct negotiations with one another in a spirit of goodwill aimed at mutual accord.

In conclusion, the brief recommends the establishment of a constituent assembly democratically based on representation by population, with the agreement of the provinces (including Quebec). It would be charged with the task of drafting the text of a new constitution, which would be submitted to public approval in a referendum. The Committee "recognizes the exceptional nature of this proposal, and makes it only after careful deliberation." It recommends the "replacement of the constitutional system through an extraordinary process outside the normal framework of institutions" because "the system has demonstrated its inability to meet the growing pressures for change after more than 10 years of constitutional discussion."

Popular confirmation of a draft constitution would require, the Committee argues, a double majority for its acceptance: approval in both Quebec and English-speaking Canada. "But even without the participation of the Quebec government", the document states, "such an assembly is necessary for the readjustment of English-speaking Canada's constitutional balance—and the confirmation of its political will."

For copies of the complete brief, write: P.O. Box 1457, Station B, Ottawa.

forward #31 Feb 1978

Unity Task Force faces failure of Confederation

By Richard Hunt

The Canada Unity Task Force began to wind down its efforts this last week in order to prepare its recommendations. The Commission, instead of uncovering vast reservoirs of support for a united Canada, has revealed an inconsistent, sometimes petulant and generally impotent federalist response to the challenge of Quebec self-determination.

The task force ran into problems right from the beginning, finding it difficult to recruit even two representatives from Quebec. One Québécoise commissioner, Mme. Chaput-Rolland, was so struck by the prejudice shown French-language speakers in Winnipeg that she has wondered out loud whether René Lévesque is right about Quebec's need to separate.

Bigots haven't been the only, and certainly not the most significant, problem. The high coin of profederalist rhetoric which flows so readily from politician's lips has been devoid of even small change. The Ontario government refused to take advantage of a blue ribbon opportunity to make a gesture towards Quebec while the Commission was in town, when it turned thumbs down on a proposal to make French an official language of the province. How then can federalism guarantee the rights of French Canadians outside of Quebec?

Beating the bush for some alternative, or at least a reputable stall, many members of the Commission have pointed to the need for some "third force" to resolve the crisis posed by Quebec's march toward independence. Yet none of the speakers have proven successful in articulating precisely what this force might be.

Indeed, Canada as it is now constituted has little to offer the spirited nationalism of the Quebec people. "Culturally English Canada is a conquered nation," Saskatchewan Attorney General Roy Romanow told the Commission. "Take away U.S. television, radio, periodicals, books and film and there are only a few kernels left." Confederation doesn't make much sense, he believes, "to a man in Quebec who can look across the provincial border and see an Americanized version of Canada."

Nor does it make much sense to the unemployed in chronically depressed Newfoundland. Task Force director Reid Scott said there were probably a higher percentage of separatists there than in Quebec. Regional disparity in the West, northern Ontario, the Maritimes—so much an integral part of a federal state dominated by central Canadian and U.S.-oriented capitalists—is not the stuff of which support for federalism is made.

It is becoming clear that writer Hugh MacLennan might have been a bit conservative in probing only two solitudes. Certainly there is one among the Quebecois, which English Canada has shown itself incapable of affecting.

But one thing that the task force on Canadian unity has shown is that there is not simply one other solitude that is English Canada, but many.

Working people in English Canada can however affect their own future, if they cast off illusions about keeping Quebec in a federalist Canada and rise above the petty and dead-end bickering of federalist politicians. Trudeau can talk tough about sending troops to Quebec, but steel union leader Gérard Docquier speaks for the overwhelming majority when he says that working people won't "fight each other for the glory of the Prime Minister."

Once this elementary right to self-determination has been settled, there remains the need for a constituent assembly to discuss a new constitution, based on working class unity as a class and with oppressed nationalities like the native people. Such an assembly can serve as a focal point where working people in English Canada can achieve a new sense of coherence, and project their political and economic independence in a framework that would provide regional, national and social equality.

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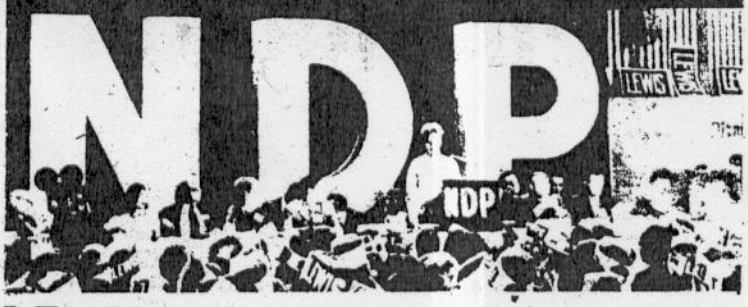
Cross country with the N.D.P.



By Wayne Roberts

High cost of Man. defeat

The recently elected Manitoba Conservative government calls it "establishing a favorable climate for investors." For the people of Manitoba, who are left out in the cold, it's been a three month purge of NDP policy and personnel, savagely carried out by Premier-elect Lyon since the first days of his official rule. It's a purge which threatens to rollback the accomplishments of almost a decade's struggles and advances under an NDP government.

The first heads to roll were in the civil service, as top administrators were fired or pressured to resign. The civil service has already been reduced by 500, and an additional 1,000 are expected to join the unemployment lines by March. In contrast to the NDP government, which kept on the appointees of previous governments, the Lyon administration has a partisan edge, aimed at known and suspected NDP sympathizers.

The government has advertised a virtual fire-sale of crown corporations, previously maintained by the province. Government shares in a mine, bus company, food and data processing plants and various tourist operations have gone up for sale. Income tax provisions have been relaxed for those in the $75,000 a year bracket. The NDP law requiring time-and-three-quarters for overtime has been scrapped. A 37 million dollar government building program has been postponed. It's a "blueprint for depression", former NDP Premier Schreyer has charged. Indeed, Manitoba's unemployment rate has jumped from 5 to 6.5% between October and November.

The rollback of progressive NDP family legislation has sparked major protest. The NDP's June legislation, which was not a matter of dispute during the election, promised advanced measures to ensure women's equal status in marriage. In particular, the NDP laws recognized the equality of both spouses' contribution to a marriage, and both spouses' claims on possessions accumulated during a marriage. The Tory patriarchy considers these measures "hastily" drafted and an "intolerable intrusion" into the privacy of the family. The government denies that its measures are anti-woman. "God forbid that," the premier responded. "We're among the best breeders in the world".

As the Conservative countermeasures were being rammed through the house over the protests of opposition Liberals and New Democrats, over 20 legal and women's groups, representing more than 50,000 people, mounted a last minute campaign. Over 500 people demonstrated outside the legislature in sub-zero weather. Beseiged by delegations and petitions, an awestruck cabinet minister remained instransigent. "I can see why the NDP rushed through without a lot of investigation", he sneered. "They just didn't have the strength to face those women".

Previous to the election, the Schreyer government disheartened and demoralized many of its supporters with its support of wage controls and Schreyer's endless flirting with the Liberals. The lacklustre NDP campaign played up the moderation of Schreyer and kept quiet about its positive but controversial achievements. For thousands of Manitobans, the stakes of an NDP government are only now becoming clear.

ex NDP Premier Schreyer

BC Caucus organizes

By Brian Emery

Although it is still three months away, members of the B.C. NDP are now beginning to mobilize for the annual provincial convention to be held in Victoria.

As resolutions start to trickle into Provincial Office, party activists around the province are considering ways they can be effective in building the NDP and returning it to power. The "open caucus," encompassing women's committee activists, trade unionists and the party left, anticipates playing a major role in the discussions both in the constituencies and in Victoria.

Hilda Thomas

The caucus, the only openly organized left grouping in the party anywhere in the country, was formed at the 1976 provincial convention in Penticton to provide a vehicle for the left to intervene in discussions about the future of the party after the election loss.

It was organized around five basic points: support to the labor movement; support for women's rights; support for NDP involvement in municipal politics; a demand for internal political education; and a demand for increased internal party democracy. A sixth point was added a year later, relating to environmental integrity.

This was the first attempt to develop an organized left opposition since the demise of the provincial Waffle in the early seventies, although a left tradition has existed from the founding of the CCF in B.C. in 1933. Although the left ran candidates for party offices through the seventies, this was the first attempt to provide a coherent program for the party rank-and-file.

The caucus has been endorsed by the labor caucus, the women's caucus and the youth caucus. At both the 1976 and 1977 conventions, candidates endorsed by the caucus were elected to the provincial executive in

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opposition to the establishment slate organized by individuals close to the party leadership.

The open caucus has played key roles in mobilizing support within the provincial party for the right of the Quebecois to self-determination, and for the labor movement as it beats back attacks from the Socred government. Additionally, the caucus organized in defense of the Vancouver Area Council, abolished by the party brass a year and a half ago.

At the moment, a great deal of effort is being expended in building the Women's Committee, currently under pressure from the party right-wing. At the last meeting of caucus supporters in December, Committee activists were encouraged to continue their efforts to build a socialist-feminist consciousness within the NDP.

The upcoming convention will have to deal with some crucial questions. Unemployment is particularly high in the Pacific region. Alternatives are clearly demanded, something the open caucus can provide. Proposals such as those urging nationalization of corporations shutting down operations in the province provide the basis for such alternative courses.

The party will clearly have to come to terms with the "Quebec question." Open caucus activists will be leading the debates in constituencies across the province on this issue, hoping to move the party to recognition of the right of the Quebecois to self-determination, counterposed to the reactionary Save-Canada campaign currently underway.

The convention may also be asked to take some action on the question of the party's activity at the local level. New Democrats, many of them open caucus supporters, ran strong campaigns in a number of centers in the November civic elections, and there is growing support for the idea that the party should be contesting those elections as the NDP.

Crucial to this new consciousness has been the experience in municipalities such as Richmond, where three "Independent New Democrats," led by former MLA and open caucus spokesperson Harold Steeves and endorsed by the local constituency association, were elected to Council. As noted, there is much discussion at a constituency level about such a course of action, and there is even talk of a new Vancouver area council to coordinate party activity in the 1978 elections.

The present crisis of capitalism demands clear anti-capitalist alternatives. The leadership of the B.C. party (and, of course, of other provincial sections) is not able to provide those alternatives on any consistent basis. Socialists within the party, drawing on their own experiences and those of the rank-and-file, can.

However, to do so demands that the left be organized in some fashion. The experience of the open caucus points toward the success of a flexible, informal organization based broadly on constituency activists. The caucus has developed credibility within the party by avoiding the tendency to become "a party within a party"—since its activists are vitally involved in the mainstream of party activities, such a charge is ludicrous.

Socialist candidates and proposals have not been ignored by the party rank-and-file. The experience in B.C. indicates that 35 to 40 per cent of the party membership (based on convention votes) is supportive of the programmatic alternative advanced by the left. Those figures provide much cause for optimism, and an example to be closely examined by activists in other provincial sections.

Woodsworth on RCMP

While the current federal NDP leadership softpedals all criticisms of the RCMP by first paying homage to the honorable traditions of the force, it is useful to know the position of J.S. Woodsworth, first leader of the CCF. As a labor MP, he introduced the following motion before the House of Commons in 1923. The full text of his speech is reproduced in Alberta Democrat, *Nov/Dec, 1977.*

RESOLVED: That, in the opinion of this House, it is in the public interest that the present Royal Canadian Mounted Police force be disbanded, and that there be organized (a) a federal police force for the protection of government buildings and other federal property, (b) a Northwest Mounted Police force whose activities would be confined to unorganized territories.

The MP who put this motion to the House of Commons went on to say:

"The fact is that under the guise of ferreting out sedition, there has been established a system of espionage that is most objectionable, at least to the labour unions of the country.

"This was brought to the attention of several of us many years ago. On the witness stand one of the corporals of the Canadian Mounted Police confessed that he had wormed his way into the unions, that he had secured the confidence of the members and had actually tried to get people to purchase books which he knew at that time to be banned, and thus, if possible, to persuade them to commit crime. So far as I am able to learn, that particular corporal is still in the employ of the Canadian Mounted Police and still carrying on that kind of work. He has been transferred from Calgary to Montreal.

"He was introduced to some labour people in Montreal by a man who is generally known in labour circles as being a 'red.' The labour people do not understand why the government has not arrested this man, who all along has been supposed to be a great agitator. It is passing strange that he should be the very man who introduced this corporal of the Canadian Mounted Police to the unsuspecting workers of Montreal.

"One thing I should like this House to know is that in the free and easy meetings often held by the labour people in their halls, when almost any man is free to get up and say what he thinks, if someone urges violence the word is immediately passed around that group: 'Be careful of that man; he is a government agent.'

"Is it a desirable condition, Mr. Speaker, that it should be said or suspected that when a man urged violence in this country he was a government agent, trying to get a certain number of people into trouble? But this is said and said freely, and we have good reason to believe that it is true. ...

"There is no reason why labour people should be spied on in this way, nor is there any reason why public funds should be diverted to the maintenance of a certain number of individuals whose business is to go in and out of meetings of labour people to try to find out what is going on. ..."

J.S. Woodsworth

forward #31 Feb 1978

Ottawa committee initiates

Discussion of problems confronting socialist left

As an information service to our readers, we are printing below excerpts from a document by the Ottawa Committee for Labour Action [OCLA] titled "The Task for Marxist Groupings Today" which appeared in the recent Vol. 12, No. 6 issue of Canadian Dimension.

While we don't endorse the OCLA document in its entirety, especially in its failure to deal with the challenge presented by the New Democratic Party, we nevertheless agree with Canadian Dimension *that it makes an important contribution to the discussion of strategy among Canadian socialists, on a number of fronts—the present situation facing socialist groupings in relation to the working class; the relationship between revolutionary theory and practice, especially regarding the question of revolutionary organization; the important distinction between the struggle for reforms under capitalism and reformism as a strategic policy. Also of interest, we feel, are its comments on the Waffle experience, from which a number of OCLA members emerged.*

The OCLA is one of a number of socialist groupings that have sprung up over the past three or four years in various centers across Canada. At an initial meeting in Winnipeg in the summer of 1975, representatives agreed to maintain contact and a loose communication network among one another. These groupings profess in common a Marxist perspective as well as a rejection of the reformism of the New Democratic Party. At the same time, they consider the working class nowhere near revolution or even approaching socialist consciousness. For this reason they reject proclaiming a new political party, now or in the near future, as adventurism.

The statement from which the following excerpts are taken was prepared for internal debate and for discussion among the various socialist centers with which it has contact.

Interested readers are invited to contact the OCLA through P.O. Box 4415, Station E, Ottawa.

Editor's note

□

"The central question which must guide the analysis and praxis of Marxist groupings in Canada today is, how do Marxists come into touch with the masses and what are *the methods* by which the masses can be won over to Marxist theory and practice? The necessity of posing this central question *before all else* lies in the pervasiveness and depth of bourgeois hegemony in western capitalist societies and particularly in Canada...

"The lack of serious attention paid to the strength of western capitalist societies in terms of this hegemony has led repeatedly to false and intemperate 'solutions' being posed in the form of small, would-be revolutionary groupings seeking to substitute themselves for a revolutionary working class. Although these groupings are fond of quoting Lenin and 'practising' Leninism, their isolation from the masses and their impatience leads them to act in a manner which flies in the face of Marxist practice...

"In this light, in a country where the consent of the masses has to be won *away* from the ruling class... one cannot begin by theorizing the correct party organization. For in the absence of a great deal of advanced development in the working class, this will inevitably be an abstract undertaking, one which is doomed to failure because workers themselves will not be part of the undertaking...

"Further, this abstract theorizing avoids the difficult anterior question of how a revolutionary base will develop in the working class and how we can help sustain that development. One might even quote Lenin: 'I am certainly not denying that revolution can be started by a very small party and brought to a vigorous conclusion. But we have to know the methods by which the masses can be won over to our side..'

"These methods will not be found in abstract theorizing about party organization, class struggle, principle contradiction, and so on. Nor will they be derived, in the wake of disillusionment with the practice in the Soviet Union, by turning to a new adulation of China...

"These methods will also not be found in the approach of the now defunct Waffle. The Waffle was also isolated from the working class, not by virtue of its withdrawal into abstract theorizing, but by its media-oriented strategy, by its attachment to issues that were unable to directly relate to the working class. The Waffle's ambiguity on and suspicion of Marxism, its failure to see its task as developing revolutionary understanding in the working class, its impatience and unpreparedness for the painstaking slow struggle to build a revolutionary base—these were core failures—

"The initial task of serious Marxist groupings today is to help build that base in the working class. This can only be done by inserting ourselves in the struggles that are important to workers and proposing practical tasks to people struggling for the working class in a way that will lessen the confused and limited nature which struggles inevitably exhibit in the prevailing context of bourgeois hegemony. Concentration on working class struggles, especially the struggles of *the organized* working class or for *organization* of the working class, i.e. labour movement struggles, should take primacy at this stage because of the absolute centrality of the working class to revolutionary change, because the working class alone has developed strong indigenous organizations—the trade unions—in Canada, and because the limited resources of Marxist groups makes covering the whole gamut of all progressive issues impossible at the moment. Insofar as we branch out to the struggles around welfare, feminism, native peoples, etc., it must be with a view of connecting these struggles to the struggles of the working class.

"In relating to these struggles, we need not be defensive on their immediate non-revolutionary character, on the fact that these are working class struggles for reforms..

"The distinction between reforms and reformism is paramount here. Attempts to limit the autonomy of

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working class organizations by the integration of their leaders into parliament or into corporatist structures, through which they undertake to control their membership in the name of putative representation at the top—that is reformism and we must struggle against it—But struggles to strengthen the working class at the base, and to win material gains for the working class, while not giving up in exchange their freedom of action, these are reforms worth encouraging and proposing. The struggles for greater union democracy, for freer collective bargaining legislation, for lower levels of unemployment, for broader social welfare in the face of state cut-backs, these are struggles we must propose and join. A working class which loses on these issues, which gives up retorms it has previously won, will be a working class which wallows in defeatism, not a revolutionary one...

"Our own experience has been that our practice along these lines has not led us into submergence into the day to day issues of unions, nor into advocating reformism, nor into serving as the 'lackies of the union bosses'...

"The problem we have experienced has been rather one of developing the capacity of our grouping and the refined tactics which would allow it to bring into our groupings our main working class contacts. Insofar as our goal has been to build legitimacy for Marxism and for our group among workers in terms of their immediate struggles, we have had small successes. Insofar as our goal has been to grow through the working class, helping to create working class revolutionary intellectuals, we have not. It is this—the methods whereby working class people become revolutionary intellectuals, building working class self-sufficiency for the working class struggle as far as possible—it is this which needs to be systematically addressed at meetings of Marxist groupings.

"This question must remain anterior to formulating a correct Leninist line on party organization. We cannot define ourselves in absolute terms at this stage, precisely because working class activists must be involved very substantially in building the base of a revolutionary party. Thus our first task must remain developing that element of revolutionary working class leaders who will build the revolutionary party of the future out of materials that are not now at hand. We cannot draw blueprints for them that ignore the historical specificity of those materials.

"Our proposals for the immediate future are the following: That the socialist centres and other like-thinking Marxist groupings: (a) create a functioning communication network, (b) exchange propaganda and analysis, (c) establish working committees to undertake national Marxist education for the internal development of the various groups, (d) undertake a common working project national in scope, which will join the groups together in a practical struggle with working people on a broad front."

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forward #31 Feb 1978

Discrimination hits women workers

By Adrian Firan

The discrimination that women face in Canada is worse now than it was ten years ago.

Working women are almost twice as likely to be unemployed as males.

Two month strike of BC Tel workers has sparked massive union solidarity

For those who are lucky enough to have a job, the differential between men's and women's wages is on the increase. Today, women clerical workers make only 64% of comparable male salaries, and sales personnel 40%. Contrary to the myth of women's increased accessibility to traditionally male and thus higher paid areas of work, women managers receive only 57% of the salary of their male counterparts.

The AIB has struck a further blow to the struggle for equal pay for work of equal value with its consistent rulings turning back catch-up increases for women workers. Even the director of the women's bureau of the Ontario labor ministry has conceded that Canada's 3.8 million working women have seen the gap between their own and men's wages for performing the same jobs grow over the last five years.

While the trade union movement has shown increased signs of interest in the equal pay issue, the recent CLC education conference on equality of opportunity and treatment of women workers showed that there is still a long way to go. A typical example of women's underrepresentation in the leadership of the union movement is the Canadian Union of Postal Workers which has no women on its national executive, even though 60% of its union members are female. When some of the 400 delegates at the conference contested the "educational" character of the gathering and pushed to allow the passing of resolutions, the move was vetoed by CLC vice-president Shirley Carr.

The trade union leadership aren't the only ones that can be faulted for more talk than action. Far more insidious was the recent equal pay—equal opportunity conference organized by the Ontario Ministry of Labor. Activists, both within and outside of the trade union movement, found fault with the conference, which cost over $20,000. The Minister of Labor was absent from the meeting and no representative of the federal government was invited. Nor was a representative from CUPE invited to elaborate on their equal pay for work of equal value provision. Rather, conference participants were treated to the conventional vagaries on the difficulties of implementing equal pay in an era of government restraint, and over-studied laments about the increasing low paying ghettoization of women workers. But nonetheless, the conference brought together some angry women not prepared to accept evasion. The ball is clearly in their court.

CBC clanger on Nellie McClung

By Alice Klein

Those who turned enthusiastically to the much promoted CBC production of **Nellie McClung** in January probably learned more about football than they did about Canada's most famous suffrage fighter. How ironic that after CBC survived the scandal surrounding their initial quest for a leading lady in the U.S. before they settled on Canadian Kate Reid, the great American "superbowl"—macho violence and cheerleaders intact—delayed the program for 45 minutes. Only the very generous at heart can fail to draw some conclusions about the priorities of the CBC.

These difficulties aside, however, the show did go on. And Canadian audiences were treated to a look into a past in which women were depicted as active shapers of history rather than its passive victims. Some women, anyway. And Nellie—the woman who said "never retract, never retreat, just get the thing done and let them howl"—was certainly one of them. In this sense, the inspiration for CBC's **Nellie McClung** is clearly drawn from the growing influence of some aspects of the women's movement. Alongside the increasing economic and social obstacles to women's equality, there is, paradoxically, a burgeoning women's culture which affirms the values expressed by the women's movement on a wider level than ever before. Where once we looked to small consciousness raising groups for an alternative vision to the crippling stereotyping of women, we now find movies, music and even the odd television show which expresses, albeit partially, some of that consciousness.

Unfortunately, CBC's effort was far from the best that the new women's culture has produced. Rather, it wasted the opportunity of presenting a fresh rediscovery of Canada's past which could illuminate the dynamics of a key area of social change. Instead, in the tradition of all Canada's great men, we are served up a great woman. A new hero but not a movement. A fairy tale but not the truth.

By lingering so long on a rather facile depiction of Nellie's homelife, the CBC missed altogether what was going on in the streets. In fact, the struggle for the vote took place precisely in the context of a growing radicalization of farmers and workers who saw their wives and sisters as allies in their attempts at political and social change. It was the working class, not the cynical political hacks of the Liberal Party, as the program implies, who were key to the victory of women's suffrage. Thus it was no accident that the vote was first won in the center rocked not five years later by the historic Winnipeg General Strike.

Women workers, shown as the pathetic recipients of McClungs's middle class noblesse oblige, were on the contrary heroic partners in that struggle.

The CBC gave us **Nellie McClung**, but we got ourselves the vote.

box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto M5C 2K1, Ont.

forward

April 17/78

Dear Jerry + Ruth

thanks for the note

Yes in next issue a comrade will have a review of the Resnick book

What do you think of those long reviews in the paper — when we have the book I am all for it. Hope you checked out the Penner book. Many problems with that book but on the whole excellent. He phoned up to thank us for it. We want to take up the Panuch book on the Cdn state — however the case with the RCMP must be well prepared. Biggest thing yet!

fraternally Ross

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

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Nothing in BC pipeline for Dene and jobless, but Govt rams thru deal

By Ellie Kirzner

Some see pipe dreams; some see the Canadian economy going down the pipe. But as the Liberal government prepares to steamroller the Alaska pipeline bill through parliament next month, economic integration with corporate USA moves a step nearer completion.

Characterized by many as a contemporary version of the Panama Canal, the Alaska pipeline structures a piece of American corporate territory on Canadian soil. While representatives of the investment house Wood Gundy have cautioned us not to think of the pipeline as a "domestic project," the government is knocking itself out, trying to convince Canadian workers that this monster project has something to do with our interests.

Designed to transport gas from Alaska down the Alaska highway through Alaska, the Yukon, northern B.C. and Alberta, the pipeline, with a

of the construction will take in the U.S. Further the federal rnment's own Department of onal Economic Expansion, call- government proposals a "wish ." considers that the Canadian nt may well be down to 67%. , the only break that the Cana- steel industry is getting, is the it" to compete with foreign pro- s for the juicy pipe contracts. ell, the long-term total person- equirements for pipeline opera- nd maintenance, says the Alas- ighway Pipeline panel, would

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"IT'LL BE A SELLOUT!"

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Rich get richer in 'Just Society'

By P. Kent

No one can help but be shocked by the collosal spread, the vast difference that exists in society today between the wages doled out to hundreds of thousands of working men and women and the collosal incomes accrued by a relatively small number of the rich and super-rich.

A recent report by the National Council of Welfare to the Trudeau government spelled it out in a simple but graphic way. The council, a government-appointed 21 person advisory body to the Minister of National Health and Welfare, noted that 20% of Canadians who receive the lowest income get less than 4% of the total national income. At the other end of the spectrum, 20% in the highest bracket get more than 44% of the national income, or ten times as much.

This polarization of wealth in Canadian society is not exactly unknown. It has long been apparent in highly visible terms—in housing conditions, in matters of diet, in realizing educational qualifications, and in the accumulation of what are called the amenities of life. The lessening of this terrible crushing inequality, particularly as it affects the future of the youth and the present of the older generation, has always been the declared aim of governments. We have had Charters, Visions, and in the last decade of Trudeau's Liberal party reign, promises of a Just Society and a New Society. But not even taking into account the adversity that his government, with the complete approval of the Tories, launched against us just two years ago, the wage freeze, the rollbacks and cutbacks in social services, out of which we are supposed to arrive at the New Society, the situation has remained the same, if it has not actually worsened. On top of that we now have a possible 1½ million unemployed drawing no income at all.

According to the National Council Welfare report, over the last 25 years during which the same data has been collected, there has not been any shift whatsoever, no closing of the gap at all between the rich and the poor. The council's report shows that it has even widened. In 1951 the poorest 20% received not the less-than-4% that it receives today, but 4.4% of the total national income, whereas the wealthiest 20% received 42.8%. Thus over the past 25 years of what is often called sweeping social legislation, after 25 years of the so-called welfare state, the situation has only further deteriorated.

In fact, the council report shows that these so-called social welfare measures have been so constructed and applied as to actually firm up the situation. The taxation and social security system takes from the poor and gives to the rich—the inequalities created by the system "condemn 3 million of our citizens to lives of poverty in the midst of," what the report calls "Canada's widespread affluence."

The report shows how unemployment insurance, the Canadian Pension Plan, etc. work to the favor of the best off. For instance the breadwinner of a working class family earning $6,000 pays $90 into the Canada Pension Plan, gets no tax deduction because the low level of earnings exempts him/her from paying income tax, and is entitled to a pension of $112.48 a month. However a person earning $50,000 a year, contributing $169.20 in the plan, because of a tax deduction, ends up paying only $81.49, and is entitled to a pension of $194.44 a month.

While the poor remained fixed in their position, some of their number are being thrust into utter degradation—the elderly, and worst of all elderly women trying to exist on pension.

"Poverty in the midst of plenty is a disgrace," charged the Reverend Eilert Frerichs before the Ontario Royal Commission on the Status of Pensions last month, "but poverty of those who created our wealth is nothing short of a betrayal," cried this treasurer of the Metro Toronto Social Planning Council.

From a survey of living costs in Metro Toronto made one year ago the council concluded that a single person needs from $5,270 to $5,901 a year, depending on whether an owner or renter of a domicile. The survey ascertained that "whereas 48% of those who are 65-69 live below poverty levels, approximately 65% of those 70 or over live below poverty levels."

The Ontario Advisory Council on Senior Citizens, a 19 member provincial government-appointed group, representing 750,000 senior citizens, appealed to the same Royal Commission. They pled for better pensions to end their "pauper" existence.

From 1951 to 1976, the era of the welfare state in Canada, for all its accumulated reforms, which on a gradual and harmonious basis were to usher in the just and new society, we have, as the hard facts show, ever increasing inequality, including the actual pauperization of an increasing number of the population. We have reformism, but no reforming of our condition—only its worsening.

That's why socialists say reforms are no solution. What we need is a fundamental change in property relations. We need a socialist democracy where the wealth-producing productive plant in the country is owned by those whose labor produces the wealth, where production is planned, and not for profit but for human use.

Broad support rallies behind key legal suit against RCMP

By Ken Napier

Prominent members of the New Democratic Party, the trade union movement, the academic community and civil liberties organizations have declared their support for a slander action launched against the Royal Canadian Mounted Police arising out of that force's secret spying activities directed against the New Democratic Party.

A press release issued by the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, organized to promote political and financial support for the suit, contains a partial list of supporters including prominent civil rights lawyers Clayton C. Ruby and Charles Roach; Grace Hartman, president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees; John Harney, former leadership candidate for the federal NDP; Terry Meagher, vice-president of the Ontario Federation of Labour; Cy Gonick of **Canadian Dimension;** Professors Leo Panitch, Norman Penner, Ian Lumsden, Gregory Kealey and Michael Mason; Toronto lawyer Kenneth Danson; Joe Rosenblatt, recent winner of the Governor-General's annual prize for poetry; poet Al Purdy; author Eleanor Pelrine; Stephen Williams of **Toronto Life** and **Exile;** Satu Repo and George Martell, well known authors and educators; Reverend Duke T. Gray of the Unitarian Congregation

Eleanor Wright Pelrine

John Harney

of Toronto, and many others.

The press release quoted an RCMP statement, released on December 9, which is the subject matter of the slander action. The RCMP statement accused the Waffle, a left-wing formation which emerged in the New Democratic Party in the early 1970's, of having invited "subversive" elements which "promote changes brought on by violent and undemocratic means" to join the New Democratic Party. The RCMP statements specifically singled out ex-communists and the League for

Continued on page 2

Trudeau's hand called, trying another trick

By the editors

Sniffing the need to establish a reborn personality with a federal election on the door step, the new Pierre Elliott Trudeau made his appearance (with a stylized Maple Leaf as a backdrop) before an appreciative audience of Liberal Party spoilers and patrons at the party's convention at the Chateau Laurier in February.

With feet apart, jacket open and thumbs tucked into his belt, Trudeau scoffed at accusations that his party had grown conservative and right-wing after holding power for 46 of the last 57 years, the last ten under his own leadership. "A good formula, " Trudeau suggested, "would be to say we are the party of the extreme centre. And if that doesn't convince them, you can say we're the party of the radical middle."

There's another way of putting that formula, and it's been the Liberal's key to success. You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time. One day, however, the Liberals will have to reckon with the fact that you can't fool all the working people all the time.

The Liberal posture as the party of compromise and conciliation, when the reality is that they are the political instrument *par excel-*

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Who rules the roost in Canada? p4

Developments in Alta NDP...p6

Nothing in pipeline deal for Dene or unemployed

p. 2

10 billion dollar price tag, is the largest project ever undertaken by private enterprise. What will the enterprise bring Canadian working people?

Well, lauds the government — 100,000 man hours of employment. We should all be thankful. But as the NDP has made clear, this figure rests on pipeline-related manufacturing having a 98% Canadian content. Already advertisements in the **Wall Street Journal** are soothing American investors with the claim that 30% of the construction will take place in the U.S. Further the federal government's own Department of Regional Economic Expansion, calling government proposals a "wish book," considers that the Canadian content may well be down to 67%. Thus, the only break that the Canadian steel industry is getting, is the "right" to compete with foreign producers for the juicy pipe contracts. As well, the long-term total personnel requirements for pipeline operation and maintenance, says the Alaska Highway Pipeline panel, would

Continued on page 5

Continued from page 1

only amount to 189 people —less than 1% of the Yukon labor force.

The other item the government is relying on in its campaign to persuade Canadians to identify this project with their own interests is the proposed Dempster spur designed to join the Alaska pipeline at some future date in order to transport Mackenzie Valley gas to southern Canada.

This little offering seems more and more fishy as time goes on. As economist Mel Watkins has pointed out "we literally have Alberta gas coming out our ears." It is widely acknowledged that we will not need Arctic gas until the 1990's and even beyond the turn of the century. Further, the spectre is raised that if Canada continues to export low-cost Alberta gas to the U.S. now, we will end up paying the higher prices later for Alaska or Delta gas.

While the benefits to working people are dubious, the pipeline is an outright menace to the rights of the native population. The Council of Yukon Indians has demanded a ten year moratorium, as recommended by the Berger report for the Mackenzie Valley, in order for land claims to be properly negotiated. Otherwise, the full impact of the pipeline on the northern environment will never be known as the hastily summoned Lysyk Commission reached its ponderous verdict in a tidy three months. What we do know of the impact of such projects on other northern areas suggests that severe community dislocations accompany pipeline construction. The Alaska Highway Pipeline Panel, a group of scientists and engineers, has pointed to the damaging impact attributable to the Alyeska pipeline in Alaska. There, construction raised the inflation rate, and disturbed normal community patterns. Similarities between Alaska and the Yukon made a repetition of events a clear possibility, the panel submits.

Enough loose ends hang out to make this pipeline suspect from a number of different angles. For one thing several reports have alluded to the fact that the U.S. is experiencing no real gas shortage — the chairman of the Houston Natural Gas Corporation, Robert Herring, himself said that pipeline gas would not be economical until after 1988. Moreover, hints from several sources indicate that US financial institutions are getting jumpy. Says business columnist Peter Brimlow: investors may insist that their investment be protected by some sort of guarantee. It is believed, he says, that the "Liberals will capitulate in this."

Last September, the NDP federal caucus, bartering short term jobs for native land rights, supported the pipeline in principle. After some sober second thoughts, it is realizing that it has, in Tommy Douglas's words, "bought a pig in a poke." On the third reading in April, the caucus is committed to vote against the pipeline bill unless it guarantees Canadian jobs and promises not to sink public money into the project.

If the interests of working people are at all to be addressed, the pipeline debate should be frozen in mid-air, awaiting an investigation of the sweeping character and grass roots participation of the Berger report.

Where to go for Cdn info

A heavy cloak of secrecy surrounds the giant corporations that make all the key decisions in capitalist society. Canadians know less than Americans, even when it comes to those corporations that fly the Canadian flag. And as far as the Trudeau government is concerned even the few bits of information that US government regulations demand as a matter of course are positively dangerous to our peace of mind.

US regulations require that officers and directors of public companies earning more than $40,000 a year, whose shares are traded in the US, have to disclose their salaries. Of course the law is applied flexibly — so flexibly that when a request for disclosure under the US Freedom of Information Act was filed the chief Canadian Pacific Railways executive officer, Ian Sinclair, the same who is bandstanding the withdrawal of Sun Life from Quebec, bet a Canadian newspaperman a $200 dinner that his salary would never be disclosed.

The CP got special dispensation according to a SEC release, when among its arguments was one of principle — that revelation of the salaries of its executives would play into the hands of those Canadians who favor public ownership against private ownership. But US SEC officials saw things differently when the publicly-owned CNR came to sell 100 million dollars worth of debentures on the US market. Canada's Transport Minister Otto Lang felt compelled to intervene with a special plea for exemption. Among his arguments was that: "Obviously disclosure in the US would destroy confidentiality in Canada."

On this occasion SEC officials did not grant exemption and now, thanks to US law and the vagaries of its enforcers, we Canadians know that the wages we paid to the CNR president in 1975 were $80,000, to the chairman $65,000 and to the three vice-presidents $73,000 each. You can only imagine what we don't know about this giant conspiracy against the public

forward #32 Apr 1978

Mass student protest against the cutbacks

by Abie Weisfeld

Toronto saw its biggest student issue demonstration ever March 16 when 6,000 university students, faculty and staff rallied before the Ontario legislature to protest the continuing cutbacks.

Cutbacks in social services and education have now become a reality for all concerned, except Ontario Prime Minister William Davis who maintains that social services are being continued at their previous level. One of Davis' hatchetmen, Darcy McKeough, the Ontario Treasurer, has at least admitted the government's policy by announcing his philosophy of "user pays".

McKeough has extended his "user pays" philosophy to universities, community colleges, child-care centres and even OHIP. To be consistent he would only have to install tuition fees for secondary and primary education as well and eliminate the traditional right to an education in its entirety. What is being established as the operating policy of both provincial and the federal governments is that the only guaranteed rights in our society belong to those people who control large enough sums of money to ensure their own survival independently of social services.

Just prior to the cutbacks, which began in 1973, the corporate share of government revenue began to decline and the burden shared by individuals began to increase. Corporate tax contributions to provincial government revenues have declined from 9.4% to 5.5% over the years 1962-1975, and at the federal level from 22.7% to 15.7% between 1961 and 1976.

This corporate negligence toward public services is even further intensified within the structures of Canada's branch-plant economy. Of what use is an educated workforce when research is carried on elsewhere without the contribution of Canadian workers? Canadian business spends 1% of the GNP on research and development, less than any country in the "advanced world."

University students and staff have been the first to move out against the massive rollback in public services that had slowly been won since the Second World War.

Besides the Ontario demonstrations, there were actions in Alberta involving 5,000 who demanded that the government use some of its 3 billions in oil revenues to provide high quality education and block a $50 tuition increase.

The protest actions have begun to take on the character of a movement. The Ontario demonstration was preceded by a series of sit-ins at universities across the province. A cross-city coalition against cutbacks was instrumental in organizing Toronto efforts. At York University in Toronto, a Student Action slate worked actively for the march in conjunction with its efforts to win student council elections on an activist anti-cutbacks platform. The slate lost the York elections by 35 votes, and the results are now being contested.

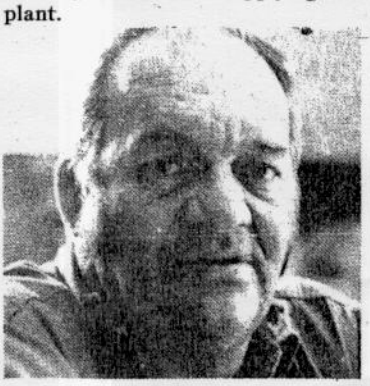
Fishermen challenging Ottawa's selling-out of Canadian sovereignty

Both the establishment of national sovereignty over the new 200 mile limit defining Canadian territorial waters and the role of foreign investment inside these waters are rousing the grave concern of fishermen on both the West and East coasts.

George Hewison, secretary-treasurer of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, has accused Ottawa of selling out the industry in BC to US business interests. Federal negotiators are "bending over backwards to accommodate the Americans," he charges, in the high level talks which will determine new territorial waters for US and Canadian fishermen. When Washington declared the boundaries of US territorial waters last year, the new boundary for the US fishing zone ran through the middle of the Dixon Entrance at the top of the Queen Charlotte Islands, although the BC government had requested that the boundary follow, as on the East Coast, the continental shelf, and extend into the Gulf of Alaska.

The 200 mile limit on the East Coast, ostensibly designed to halt the destruction of the Grand Banks through overfishing, and the faltering processing industry, some of it co-op owned, may only end up serving the interests of such West German fishing companies as Nordsee, a subsidiary of the giant multinational Unilever Corporation.

Nordsee has put in a bid to buy up a part-time fish plant at Harbour Grace which another Unilever subsidiary closed down in the 1960s with a loss of 800 jobs. It plans to operate with five deep sea trawlers which would knock out the small inshore boat operators now supplying the plant.



Paul Chaisson, pres of Local 10 MFU

Richard Cashin, head of the Newfoundland Food and Allied Workers Union, charges that the deal would violate the very concept of the 200 mile limit and has attacked the Newfoundland government for its "colonial mentality." He warns that Newfoundlanders are destined to become nothing more than "white coolies" if the deal goes through.

NDP leader Ed Broadbent has joined the protest. While no one knows who will get the jobs on the five trawlers, he said, "I do know that if these trawlers are allowed to fish offshore cod stocks, the inshore fishing will be crippled."

Federal Fisheries Minister LeBlanc, expressing opposition to any "back door" takeover, suggested that there may be legislation to make large fishing companies divest themselves of fishing boats in the hope of increasing price competition to the advantage of the fishermen. But the obvious answer is to place this national resource industry under public ownership and planned development so that Maritime fishermen, who have been under the squeeze of the packers and processors for generations, could have a decent life.

forward #32 Apr-1978
Editor: Wayne Roberts

Left-wing develops at ONDP convention

By Dale Ritch and Wayne Roberts

Take the blatant treachery of INCO, which has fattened off the public trough for decades, only to desert its workforce the moment cheaper ore reserves were available elsewhere. Combine it with the record of Stephen Lewis, who abandoned the NDP's longstanding position on public ownership of resource companies like INCO during the June election campaign and oversaw the NDP decline from official opposition to third party status. And you have some of the reasons for the anti-establishment mood and re-awakening socialist spirit that prevailed among the more than 1800 delegates who jammed Toronto Sheraton Hotel in Feburary for the NDP's ninth bi-annual convention.

Designed as a leadership convention featuring the hoopla of three ideologically indistinguishable candidates, the convention nonetheless revealed some of the most promising developments within the Ontario NDP since the purge of the Waffle in 1973.

A party leadership which has publicly equivocated and even repudiated policies adopted at previous conventions, had to stand aside as motions reaffirming policies on the public ownership of resources, the $4 hourly minimum wage and rejection of corporate financing of the party swept the convention floor. In sharp contrast to the waivering of federal leader Ed Broadbent, the convention extended hearty cheers to speakers who blasted the RCMP's record in harassing the left.

A resolution calling for social ownership of the means of production through workers' control won 46% of the delegates' votes. The breadth of support for this motion, promoted by Dan Heap and several central Toronto ridings, testified to the generalized (though still uneven) commitment to socialism that is developing in the grass roots of the party.

The most heartening aspect of the convention was the re-emergence of a "left" caucus for the first time since the Waffle. Ably chaired by outgoing party president Jim Turk, a series of open meetings involved over 100 delegates from across the province successfully organized floor fights on several key issues, and ran a partial slate against the official executive slate.

Compromise on INCO

Left delegates faced their biggest challenge on Friday night, when the (Sudbury) Nickel Belt riding resolution calling for the immediate nationalization of INCO and Falconbridge Mines came on the floor.

Women delegates casting ballots

Sensing the mood of the convention, and fearing the polarization of a full scale fight on this burning issue, party leaders pressured key Nickel Belt delegates into moving a compromise referral of their own resolution.

The compromise committed the party on paper to nationalization of the nickel and uranium industries in the context of a long-term industrial strategy. This referral paid lip-service to the strong public ownership sentiment on the convention floor but by removing the 'immediate' clause, left implementation of the policy entirely in the hands of a caucus which has with very few exceptions consistently undermined the concept of public ownership in the past.

The manner in which the compromise motion was sprung unexpectedly on the convention led to a great deal of confusion which was not cleared up until Nickel Belt President Cameron Hopkins stated that the motion did indeed remove the immediacy. Further enlightenment came when several right-wingers including top Steelworker Stu Cooke (who vigourously opposed the nationalization of INCO at the past OFL convention) stood up to speak in favor of the referral. In spite of the split in the left engendered by the compromise, and the resulting confusion, the first vote on the referral was very close, indicating that the original motion could have passed.

Late that night, the left caucus regrouped. The experience had strengthened the resolve of the left to appeal directly to the party rank and file, rather than rely on a dicted-from-the-top consensus. It was decided to fight for a Dovercourt resolution, which proposed concrete measures for the immediate nationalization of INCO and was to come up first thing next morning. The motion was backed unanimously by left caucus supporters and easily carried the convention vote.

The debate on national unity and Quebec, although not as productive for the left, also resulted in a small step forward. The left backed a motion which called for the repudiation of force against Quebec as a statement of principle. This motion came to naught when MP Terry Grier was recognized first and managed to refer the "national unity at all costs" resolution passed by the last federal convention.

When several top leaders, including David Lewis, mobilized to carry a hysterical appeal for "national unity", the left was forced to carry a defensive intervention, which nevertheless gave the party leadership far less than the near-unanimous mandate received at Winnipeg. John Harney's stirring opposition to the "National unity" resolution, which he felt smothered Quebec's right to self-determination, was an indication of the potential openness of party members on this crucial question.

The leadership race

Something should be said about the leadership race, which pitted three establishment candidates against one another. However, by the second round, Mike Cassidy managed to win the grudging or enthusiastic support of almost every left-winger at the convention.

His success with probably attributable to two factors: first to the high organizational caliber of his campaign. Secondly, Cassidy, no doubt due to the support of Jim Laxer and other left-wingers, was able to sense the deep dissident feeling at the convention and move to the left. He made a vague appeal to public ownership sentiment with his promise to focus on issues of general economic strategy and planning, and he was the only candidate who mentioned public ownership in the leader's debate which preceeded the vote on Sunday. Apart from his support from declared opponents of the union brass (and undeclared opponents of so-called union "domination" of the party), he had a distinct aura for many groups in the party, notably women's caucus supporters, gay rights adherents, municipal activists and Canadian nationalists.

Breaugh, who entered the convention with the support of left-leaning MPP's and riding activists, could not make up his mind to take a clear step to the left. He did not even raise INCO nationalization, an issue with which he previously identified. Obviously afraid to alienate his support from establishment figures like Ed Broadbent, he ended up by satisfying almost no one.

Ian Deans suffered from the lethargy of the parliamentary caucus and union brass who were unable and uninterested in gearing up their machine. Their lethargy was probably due to the fact that the trade union leaders neither feared nor enthused over any of the candidates.

Whatever the reality, delegates

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saw a choice, and only ten cast blank ballots, as **Forward** had urged in its call for a protest vote on the first ballot. **Forward** had hoped that such a demonstration would express the dissatisfaction and strengthen the independence of the left.

Most left-wing delegates saw Cassidy's victory as a defeat for the party officialdom, and a signal to press ahead for greater rank and file activity and "closer encounters of a socialist kind." The overwhelming feeling, and one that Cassidy adapted to in his speeches, was that the party rank and file were calling the shots, and not the provincial office or the caucus.

This mood carried over in the vote for the new executive. A group of six dissidents, supported by the left caucus and sponsored by Algoma MPP Bud Wildman and Nickel Belt MP John Rodriguez, ran to break the official slate. Two of the better known figures, Alice Heap and Susan Chang, succeeded, and will add their voices to three "unofficial" leftists, endorsed by the official slate.

Nevertheless, for all the ferment, provincial office is in the same hands. The power structure was rocked but stands virtually intact.

However, the ease with which the slate was broken suggests that the strength of the left at the convention was not adequately expressed and remains unharnessed. Unless the party shifts dramatically towards the socialist policies and grass-roots control desired by the majority of delegates, then at the next convention, the left must be prepared to issue a much clearer challenge to the party leadership.

Militants planning next steps ahead

Many of the left-wing delegates who participated in the left caucus were interested in developing some means of continuing to work together after the convention.

Although the satisfaction of most party members with Cassidy's election as party leader will impede the development of an organized left-wing for some time, it is still useful for present links to be maintained.

In the first place, many convention issues were referred onto provincial council, the party's interim decision-making body. Council may also be asked to "clarify" (water down) some of the resolutions which passed at the convention, such as the Dovercourt resolution on immediate nationalization of INCO. Stephen Lewis has already remarked that the Dovercourt resolution is contrary to the main motion passed.

Collaboration of left delegates at provincial council will be needed to help defend the socialist gains of the convention and ensure that the party honors convention decisions.

Secondly, there is crying need for continued sharing of experiences, lessons, and ideas among socialists active in the party. NDP head office has exhibited no interest in the past in these matters of movement building, since it seems to be obsessed with building a purely electoral machine which uses the ranks as election canvassing material. The Ontario **New Democrat** functions as a house organ, rather than a discussion bulletin of party activists.

At the last left caucus meeting of the convention, delegates signed a list in the expectation of receiving a newsletter which would keep them informed of developments. This newsletter could perform valuable educational and co-ordinating services. An editorial board could be set up with broad geographical representation. This newsletter could keep left caucus delegates in touch with one another and allow us to develop our ideas together, as the NDP goes through a process of radicalization in the next period.

we need $5000 by June 30

Come to the aid of Forward!

By the editors

This spring's thaw is revealing a Canada of a million-plus unemployment, jagged recession, and biting inflation.

The spring of despair is the cue for the thriving scavengers who bootleg irrational faith and obscure cults for people bemused by the cruel blows of reality. Working people annually throw away millions of dollars to support this quackery.

Scientific socialism, on the other hand, disdains sleight-of-mind embellishments and seeks the answers to the burning issues and crises of our times in the processes of the unfolding class struggle. Out of the mire of senseless waste of human life and labor, socialism seeks to disclose and give direction to the historic path of the working class and oppressed social layers on the way to humanity's salubrious spring in a society planned and run in their interests.

In this tradition, **Forward** has been publishing a uniquely socialist view for the last four years. On a shoestring budget, supported by the volunteer efforts of those who prefer to deal with cold reality rather than submit to warm delusions, last year, we were able to make some notable achievements such as: the publication of a three-part series on the crisis of confederation, which was adapted into a pamphlet for socialists; a number of articles on the development of left formations which emerged from the Canadian nationalist movement; independent and highly researched articles on Canadian nationalist issues like the gas pipeline debate; fighting coverage of the U.S. monopolies' ruthless cutbacks in places like INCO; serious, in-depth coverage of and support for NDP governments across Canada in the working class' pursuit of independent political action; and sophisticated analyses of international events in South Africa and the Middle East and about the phemomenon of Eurocommunism.

Forward has been distributed en masse to large rallies and important meetings to disseminate the socialist voice as far as possible. Through the solidarity of our readership, we raised the necessary $5,000 in last year's fund drive.

This spring, we turn once again to all those who are striving towards socialism to raise another $5,000 for the 1978-79 publishing year. While inflation plays havoc with our modest budget, we realistically project the minimum necessary. We are painfully aware that the reactionary cult-peddlars prevail when it comes to financial support. Our appeal is to the most clear-minded and rational to give as unstintingly as possible for humanity's genuine destiny in the socialist future.

Please send cheques (even a series of post-dated cheques would do) or money orders payable to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1.

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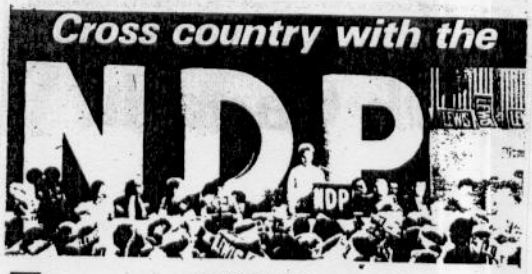


Toronto NDP rally pushes for Metro slate

By D. Bradshaw

The New Democratic Party will play a much more active role in municipal politics and the 1978 municipal elections as a result of the policy adopted at the annual convention of the NDP's Metro Toronto Area Council, held at Toronto's West Park Collegiate on March 11.

The 175 delegates from Metro area riding associations, affiliated locals in Metro, and a numerous contingent from the Metro Labor Council near-unanimously adopted a resolution proposed by the convention policy committee. The resolution stated "that we seek to run NDP candidates wherever possible" in the 1978 municipal elections. An opposing resolution from the Yorkview riding, which called for MTAC to adopt a strategy of running a joint campaign with supporters of the ReforMetro Coalition (formerly known as the Movement for Municipal Reform) and other "progressives" was defeated quite decisively.

Supporters of the successful resolution, which was initiated by Dan Heap and Jim Turk and also strongly supported by the Labor Council delegates, felt that it was now time to openly pose the need for a working class alternative to take on the big business politicians of the Liberal and Tory parties who now control City Hall.

The need for a disciplined NDP caucus of city aldermen and trustees has become more apparent with the collapse of the "reform" movement in general. This accounts for the change in position of Heap, the Labor Council, and other NDP municipal activists.

The disintegration of the Toronto reform caucus before the 1976 elections, and the ensuing polarization on council caused by the severe provincial cutbacks in municipal spending and the intransigeant demands of development corporations, have exposed many so-called reformers such as Crombie, Anne Johnson, Elizabeth Eayrs and Susan Fish as closet or open supporters of big business. At the same time, the further-left reformers have broken into a number of factions which have no common strategy or perspective.

Even ReforMetro, the major reform grouping in the city, has acknowledged in its latest newsletter, the "fickleness of many self-described politicians". ReforMetro's political evaluation also underlined the province-wide Tory apparatus as the fundamental structure of city mis-government. However, ReforMetro declines to support an NDP slate, the one form that allows for caucus discipline, popular input into caucus program, co-operation with province wide opponents of cutbacks, and the solidifying of a working class alternative.

The only serious option is the one supported by Aldermen Dan Heap and Pat Sheppard: to begin to build the NDP as a municipal party which will run on a clear, detailed class program, function as a disciplined caucus on the various councils, and collaborate directly with the NDP caucus at Queen's Park where ultimate control over municipal government revenues is located.

The electoral viability of this option has been shown by the success of the only label candidate in the 1976 elections, Joe Pantalone, in Ward 4. Although Pantalone lost by a few hundred votes, the closeness of the final results and the success of the campaign in building a base for the NDP in the area opened many NDPers' minds to the advantages of running on the label, especially in working-class wards where the NDP has a strong base provincially.

Some other aspects of the convention debate are worth mentioning. Dovercourt riding proposed several amendments to the successful resolution in order to give MTAC a clearer direction in terms of running an NDP campaign next fall. The first amendment, which was badly defeated, would have prevented MTAC from endorsing any candidates other than NDP label candidates. The second amendment, which was narrowly defeated, called for MTAC to try to run mayoralty candidates in the City and boroughs. The third amendment, which passed, stipulated that MTAC could only actively assist label candidates. The meaning of the resolution finally adopted was clear; MTAC will actively work to run as many label candidates as possible, but will reserve the right to endorse non-label candidates in certain cases.

Dan Heap

The unwillingness of the convention to actively solicit NDP candidates for mayoralty posts means that the NDP presence will not be as strong as it could be. However, the presence of supporters of the label position such as Dorothy Thomas, John Argue, Alice Heap, Adrian Dorn and Mike Lyons on the new MTAC executive indicates that a fairly strong campaign with label candidates in several City wards and a few selected suburban areas should be a distinct possibility.

Delegates to the upcoming MTAC meetings must get down to some serious work and begin immediately planning for the fall, and NDP activists in the ridings should begin to prepare as well.

US ownership & control a dead end—Blakeney

Saskatchewan NDP Premier Allan Blakeney posed to the Canada West Alternatives Conference on Confederation in Banff, as a major issue before the country, foreign U.S. ownership and control of the economy.

He scored unnamed political leaders, who everyone knows include Liberal federal Finance Minister Chretien and Tory Ontario Treasurer McKeough, for beating the drum for increased U.S. investments.

"How naive and short-sighted we have become," he said. "How often must the cost of foreign ownership and control be totalled up before we finally conclude that such a road is a dead-end—not only economically but politically and culturally as well."

Blakeney projected no program that would place the working people of Canada in control of their economic destiny. And blocking Quebec sovereignty-association motivated his taking up the question. But then it was the outrageous blackmailing by the U.S. potash moguls that forced his government to overcome its reluctance to place the key sectors of the Saskatchewan potash industry under public ownership. Can we anticipate that mounting unemployment, in part due to closure of U.S. branch plant operations, could push Blakeney and the pusillanimous NDP leadership to campaign for the public ownership of major closed-down plants and their retooling for production of goods that Canadians can use or could market in other parts of the world? They could be bought out, if thought necessary, following deduction of all the grants handed out to them and, when possible, through long term debentures.

Lévesque denounces Big Business assault

forward
#32 Apr 1978

By John Morgan

With the prospect of the all-important Quebec referendum on independence on the horizon in 1979, the Parti Québécois government is on the line in the defence of Quebec's national aspirations against mounting attacks by big business, the press and the federal government.

But the PQ is planning to dig in its heels with a cultural policy which will advocate broad public intervention in radio and TV, cinema and book publishing. It is extending social welfare and plans to go ahead with nationalization of the province's largest asbestos producer.

The government's Charter of the French Language has been frontally attacked by Sun Life Assurance's announcement to move its head office to Toronto to avoid francisation. It is now apparent that Sun Life is leading a financial boycott against the PQ. Richard Holden, a Montreal lawyer who is leading the fight to keep the firm there in the interests of national unity, revealed that its chairman Alistair Campbell is also a top executive of Asbestos Corp, the company slated for takeover. Sun Life has refused to subscribe to a recent Quebec government debenture issue, which fell short by 15% as a result of their boycott. Another Sun Life director, CPR head Ian Sinclair, has added to the pressure against the use of French by announcing that the railway will move out of Quebec and that its head office "must use English."

The Conseil du Patronat, a major employers' group complained through its president Pierre Desmarais II that the PQ is "hostile to business," and called on Lévesque to replace four cabinet ministers who had shown a lack of due respect toward the private sector. "We too are Québécois," he said, "we are not enemies out to destroy what is here," reminding the PQ, "what is here belongs to us." He deplored Finance Minister Parizeau's criticism of Sun Life, which "made waves on Wall Street." He also chastized the government for acting as if Quebec were already independent and as if a "yes" vote had already been won.

The Federal government, for its part, has announced it will now financially aid any court challenge to Bill 101 for the first time. It has done nothing to move against the RCMP for its robbery of the PQ's membership files, an operation instigated on the request of the Privy Council and involving a hundred officers over months of preparation. Instead, its Justice Department has succeeded in killing the Keable Enquiry into illegal RCMP activities "on Quebec soil" that threatened to embarrass it.

"Anything goes"

Meanwhile, Ottawa's Statistics Canada has quietly been shifting the backdrop of a disaster scenario into place, with discreet announcements that private investment will drop in Quebec in 1978, in contrast with the rest of Canada, leaving it to business columnists to draw the conclusion: the PQ is scaring everyone with its talk of independence.

The English language press has begun running feature "news analyses" which are running attacks on the PQ government. The **Montreal Star** headlined a report that New York financiers were threatening to sell off their Quebec bonds — a story that **Le Journal de Québec** checked out and rejected. Recently Rodrique Biron, leader of the Union Nationale was convinced, despite himself, that no less than $4 billion was quietly transferred out of Quebec last year, an unsubstantiated tale to which Premier Lévesque replied "who knows?" in the tizzy that followed. Where the "chaos in the skies" propaganda campaign over the use of French in the skies a year ago was the first of its kind, Lévesque accused the English language press of now creating a "common front where practically anything goes," on a daily basis.

Cultural Policy

In the press attacks on the PQ's proposed cultural policy, Camille Laurin denounced its "fictional journalism" as "perverted analysis, provoking potential fanatics to possible violence." On the basis of a casual interview between himself and policy co-author Fernand Dumont (sociologist, long-time socialist and *indépendantiste*] and a **Macleans** reporter, a sensationalist article appeared across Canada depicting the PQ's proposal for a "New Order" under state control featuring "compulsory assimilation" of minority groups in Quebec (immediately admitted as fabricated "errors in translation" by **McLeans** editors. The draft actually speaks of creating a "genuine dialogue" between English and French communities.)

The "revelations" revealed from tidbits of information were sufficient evidence for Liberal MP Bryce Mackasey to revive the already familiar theme that the PQ aims to "transform a free society into a Fascist state," a slander that drew a complaint only from the conscientious editors of **Le Devoir.**

Premier Lévesque replied sharply to these attacks by restating the PQ desire to establish "self-government" for Quebec, saying "neither blackmail, fear nor money will stop us." However, Cultural Minister Laurin was forced to delay publication of the white paper to late spring in a defensive move.

Far-reaching blueprint

The cultural policy is a far-reaching document. It proposes massive state intervention into such areas as book publishing (aimed to end France's high-priced near monopoly), in cinema, broadcasting and TV. Laurin explained that the policy would be an extension of the Charter on the French Language, using "the intervention of the state in another domain where it has long been necessary because of the imbalance of forces, in particular between our Quebec producers and those of certain multinationals.

Proposed is a state-run news agency, to replace Canadian Press, which continues to issue instructions to its Quebec members in English only. Radio-Québec is to expand its radio and TV service to eliminate English-Canadian control of mass media content. School curricula would henceforth deal seriously with Quebec history and nationalism, a move Laurin and Dumont see as necessary to end two centuries of cultural oppression.

Word from **Macleans** is that the white paper will deal also with labor relations, housing and health as elements of national culture, constituting a policy which amounts virtually to a "blueprint for the future independent state of Quebec." Indeed, with the battle of the referendum already underway, the PQ would be foolish to let the initiative slip.

The bold, wide-ranging proposals

Demonstration against asbestosis danger at Thetford-Mines

→P.2

of the white paper are seen by Laurin and Dumont as a means of proposing to the Québécois exactly what independence will mean, exactly what independence will win for them. Independence is not merely a question of winning political tools, they say, it is not "an empty political maneuver." We must know what we want, they added.

The coming budget will reduce personal taxes, triple subsidized housing, extend free milk for school children, and will legislate to place agricultural land under zoning bylaws to keep it in production. These measures reflect the mass pressure of its working class support and the programmatic commitment of its 150,000 members. But the immense pressure it feels from business and finance capital has made itself felt as well. Lévesque lectured public sector workers that their salaries "cannot continue indefinitely to get always further ahead of the rest of the train" and the government will try to hold the line in the coming negotiations (rebuffing, however, employers lobbying to remove their right to strike).

Internationally, the PQ continues the struggle with Ottawa for the right to representation in foreign francophone countries. But is has moved further away from its members' desires for a neutralist military stance, declaring Quebec "can't isolate itself from the defence system within the framework of the Atlantic alliance (NATO), whatever formula for participation it adopts."

"Let's give it a try"

At home, the PQ is up against not only the overwhelming weight of the private enterprise system, but the province's political structures as well. Lévesque was forced to back down on a proposal to shift property tax powers from local school boards to municipalities. "It wouldn't have cost them a bloody cent," Lévesque said pointedly in English, declaring he had no desire to ram through the changes immediately.

The success the PQ would enjoy with the implementation of its cultural policy, involving as it does the laying of hands on an important sector of bourgeois ideological control, would be vital for the winning of the referendum on independence — and it would also signify a major victory of the Québécois workers.

On va essayer ça (let's give it a try) was the comment heard in the factories and streets at the time of the first big electoral gains of the Parti Québécois in east end Montreal in the late 60's — when the "separatists" became *indépendantistes.* Because the New Democratic Party refused to budge on Canadian unity, and with the failure of the labor movement to enter politics, the mass nationalist movement swung behind Lévesque's petit-bourgeois party. Buoyed by powerful nationalism and developing a democratic structure paralleling that of the NDP in English Canada, it is nevertheless buffetted by opposing class interests.

A referendum victory would lay open the way in workers' minds for the realization of their aspirations — that way may be much rockier than they suspect, but it would constitute an important stage won.

Continental Corporate Power: Economic Linkages between Canada and the United States (1977)

Clement adds a new dimension to the study of power

by Ross Dowson

(from Forward, April 1978)

From the *(first)* book *The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power by Wallace Clement (Carleton Library No. 89, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1975),* that appeared three years ago, one could only conclude on the basis of his rigorous and documented research that Canada is an economic dictatorship, ruled by a small closed circle of financial and industrial capitalists.

"Top decision making positions in the economy and mass media in Canada," he wrote, "are dominated by a small upper class. Through dominant corporations they maintain a hierarchically ordered system by which they are able to extract surplus allowing them to continue and expand their control. This same surplus provides them with a life style much different than that experienced by the vast majority of Canadians and the privileges that accrue to them are passed on to their children."

He ended the prophetic sentence, "As long as corporate powers allowed to remain in its present concentrated state, there is no hope for equality of opportunity or equality of condition in Canada."

Since then the capitalist class, which Cement defines as not only the economic elite but includes all those "who own, control and/or manage (at a senior level) all corporations employing the labor of others, including their families" has got richer and indulges itself in ever more extravagant displays of its accumulated wealth.

Meanwhile inflation, aggravated by government imposed cutbacks in hard-won social legislation, and a freeze of wages, continues to gnaw away at and drive down the living conditions of the working class. And worse, over one and a quarter million have now been thrust out of the work force, in large part due to shutdowns of US branch plant operations such as INCO and Falconbridge, and deprived of even a source of income. Impoverishment and degradation widen as incredibly more and more plants that could produce needed goods are closed down.

That Clement's study, *The Canadian Corporate Elite* is firmly based on the economic reality of Canada, that it is grounded on a vast accumulation of empirical data, and what generalities it does draw flow simply and lucidly out of the logic and internal contradictions of this data, renders its conclusions largely unassailable by those economists and journalists who have prostituted their skills to become apologists for the capitalist-inspired illusions of an open, expanding and increasingly equitable society.

That its conclusions are completely Marxist, that they affirm, not on the basis of a highly structured worked-out scheme, some select inviolable texts by Marx, Engels,

Lenin or Trotsky, but on the basis of a study of contemporary Canadian empirical data, constitutes an all-the-more powerful affirmation of Marxism.

Nonetheless this book, which stands as the centerpiece in the accumulating studies of the Canadian political economy, roused uneasiness among some of the old and some of the growing number of new Marxists.

According to Robert Simms and Chris Schrenk, now associated with *Socialist Voice,* "Clement draws a conclusion that is at odds with those nationalists of the left who think that the corporate bosses in Canada are subservient and submissive to encroaching US capital." The evidence they think to be at odds with an opinion that they attribute to so-called left nationalists is flimsy to say the least! — a quotation: "the Canadian economy remains controlled in large part by a set of families who have been in the past and still remain at the core of the Canadian economy." Even more strange, they also allege that "Clement doesn't make plain in his book" that "there is a basic antagonism in Canadian society today between the capitalist ruling class in the Marxist sense and the working class."

Former Waffle leader Melville Watkins who thinks that Clement's new book has rectified the situation recalls in a recent issue of *Ontario Report* that he had interpreted the *Canadian Corporate Elite* as presenting an indigenous Canadian capitalist class and the US capitalist class, along with its comprador agents, as in "a full partnership."

In an evaluation appearing in the November 1975 issue of *Forward* we pointed to what we considered a weakness in the book. We said that it left "unsettled" a key question — the "question of US ownership and control of important sectors of the Canadian economy and its ramifications." In view of the great value of the book and Clement's assurance that he had two more studies in the works — one on the state system and another on the continental economy of North America, we expressed impatience for "the second course of the feast."

It has now been served — in *Continental Corporate Power — economic linkages between Canada and the United States.* And it is well worth all of our anticipations.

In *Continental Corporate Power* Clement comes to grips with the question of US ownership and control. With this new volume be gives the valuable material in his first one a context. He thereby raises his work as a whole to a higher plane. Together his two volumes now stand in an international, and above all, in a continental context which allows him to bring into play all the research of his peers, in particular the two volume *History of Canadian Business* by Tom Naylor (1975) along with *Partner to Behemoth — the military policy of a satellite Canada* — by John Warnock (1970) and the essays contained in *Canada Limited, the policy of dependency (1973), Close the 49th Parallel* (1970), etc. etc.

As long as the debate on Canada-US relations lacked such a setting and did not develop from an historical analysis of the evolution of the political economy of Canada it

remained fragmented and lacked coherency. By making this book a study of Canada's place within a system of continental capitalism, by analyzing the developments of the US economy and its power structure, especially as they have affected Canada's economy and social structure, Clement lays the basis for arriving at a correct understanding of the Canadian economic and power structure and provides some of the key materials to resolve the many political questions that have been the subject of contention within the Canadian Left.

Even given the overall value of the book, there are several sections that are really outstanding. In Part II of Chapter I Clement outlines the power of the corporation in contemporary capitalist society — the power base of the corporate elite and the capitalist class as a whole. Anyone who thinks that changes of any significance can be brought about without coming to grips with this all-pervasive and all-powerful institution, without upending the whole system that is based on the private ownership of the key means of production, and the establishment of a planned economy based on production for use under workers' control, could profitably ponder over these four pages.

Chapter III — "Setting the Stage for a Continental Economy" — is a major historical essay on the evolution of Canadian capitalism and a classic study in the application of the laws of uneven and combined development. In the latter chapters of the book Clement makes a detailed, innovative and rigorous analysis of continental corporate structures, of corporate concentration in the US and Canada, the dominant US corporations and their relations with Canadian corporations, and the interlocking of their directorships — their continental connections.

Rather than attempt to condense or paraphrase what we consider the most important sections of the book we are taking the liberty of excerpting some of Clement's key conclusions in the hope that they will stimulate a wide circulation of the book itself.

Canada as a US dependency

"Canada is an independent nation-state enveloped by spill-over from the most powerful capitalist society in the world, which includes some of the costs and benefits of that society's wealth. While Canada's economy is largely controlled and shaped by US capitalists, these capitalists do not operate in a complete power vacuum in Canada. What has been forged over the past century is an alliance between the leading elements of Canadian and US capital that reinforces mutually the power and advantage of each.… This is an unequal alliance.... Canada's economy has been shaped to conform to the dominance of the United States."

"Canada cannot be characterized as an advanced independent capitalist society nor can it be grouped with the various peripheral nations often called 'The Third World' although it shares some traits of each type."

"Canada is a secondary power in the world economic order and has a distorted economic system because of its colonial origins and because its industrialization proceeded in the shadow of an industrial giant — shirt-tail development."

"Canada is a developed economy but underdeveloped industrially. Canada is, compared to underdeveloped societies, 'an affluent annex' in the sense of being a subsidiary or supplementary structure of the United States."

"When Canada is referred to as an industrialized society, what is really meant is that part of it is industrialized — the rest is more aptly characterized as a resources hinterland."

"Since Canada's economy is at once developed and underdeveloped its economic elite is both powerful and dependent. To reduce the question to whether Canada is 'exploited or exploiter' dismisses the fact that its elite exhibits both qualities."

"The upshot is that the power of Canadians to make decisions about specific economic activities in Canada has regressed to a state of underdevelopment (although not total underdevelopment of 'material well-being') with control over future development and stability lost because of the lack of an indigenously controlled base in manufacturing and resources.... The resulting fragmentation of the capitalist class does not mean that the whole class is not still powerful vis-à-vis the working class — indeed it may well have gained power because of its alliance with US capitalists in the continental context."

"...Canada's reliance on the United States has steadily increased and its other outside relations have declined dramatically.... Canada cannot easily withdraw from the continental economy and shift its trade elsewhere because now, unlike earlier periods, much of its 'trade" consists of intra-company transfers to United States parents. Canada is, therefore, locked into the continental economy, even if other nations challenge the world hegemony of the United States."

Canada as Imperialist

"...a great deal of 'Canadian' foreign investment in the Third World and elsewhere is of this go-between type; that is, much of this investment flows from firms in Canada which in turn are subsidiaries of other companies controlled outside Canada."

"Outside of bank and insurance and a few specific areas Canadian indigenous capitalism is not strong internationally although it does have an international presence. But within banking it is important."

“Overall, however, it would not be correct to view Canadian capitalists as imperialists in their own right. To the extent that they have participated in foreign investment, it has been largely in the remnants of the old British Empire and in the backwash of the United States. In some areas, particularly banking and life insurance, they have become important international actors, but not on the scale, or with political-

military support from the Canadian state that could be considered independently imperialist. Were the United States umbrella to collapse, as the British Empire did earlier, they would be caught in the downpour."

Canada-US integration

"Canada is integrated with the United States not just on the economic level as recipient of a large volume of United States investment. The relationship also involved a good many Canadian capitalists whether elite members or managers who have benefited by this arrangement. They project an ideology of internationalism and related to it an ideology of corporate capitalism."

"...multinationals corporations do not internationalize their own managements but they do denationalize a part of the national elite."

"An outstanding feature of these continental ties is the effect of economic sectors. They suggest that the financial-industrial axis is continental for Canada but national within the United States. The ties also reflect a pattern in which a segment of Canada's elite has been drawn into the inner circle of the US elite. While a segment of Canada's elite has gained continental power, Canadian society has been drawn into a relationship of dependence on the United States."

The State

"The state did not simply sit by while these developments transpired. It intervened **on behalf of the industry.**... Who controlled the pulp and paper industry? A good deal was US controlled with some Canadian participation.... Only in production of hydro-electric power did the state resist US ownership. The resource industries, particularly pulp and paper, mining and aluminum, were the more active protagonists of cheap efficient power. Beginning with Ontario and over the years in most other areas the provinces took the lead in providing hydro-electric power. Why did the state take this action? The most thorough analysis of this question has been provided by H. Nelles, and his answer is clear: Power is far too precious as an agent of industrial expansion to be left under the control of monopoly capital, Canadian or American. As it had been with canals, and railways, the state would be the initiator of the necessary infrastructure of economic activity; it would provide the necessary conditions for private capital accumulation."

"Furthermore the conscious effort by US capitalists and their government was met by a like-minded (politicians of the) Canadian state.... C.D. Howe, the great 'salesman' said in a speech in Boston in 1954, 'Canada has welcomed the participation of American and other foreign capital in its industrial expansion. In Canada, foreign investors are treated the same as domestic investors.' Prime Minister Louis St.-Laurent also supported Howe's position, arguing that foreign capital somehow became 'nationalized' once it had entered in Canada."

"The political boundary between Canada and the United States has not, however, been an impediment to the penetration of the sphere of production in Canada by US foreign investment. The fact of such extensive US investment reflects political decisions to allow and encourage such a pattern of development. The system has emerged not in spite of politicians but because they have permitted it. Conversely, since they have allowed these events to occur, the national independence has been decreased and much of the control over Canada's economy has been allowed to shift outside the country to the board rooms of US corporations."

National sovereignty

"Certainly in the public domain the *de facto* rights of sovereignty are a intact. But in liberal democracies, there is a very large area of private control beyond the public domain and it is in this area that sovereignty has been eroded. It is only because of the public/private split of-liberal democracies that foreign dominance can prevail in one domain but only to a lesser extent in the other. How far can foreign dominance be allowed to go? Is the public domain not influenced by what happens in the private sphere? Most certainly it is, and when levels of foreign ownership become high the result is erosion of the autonomy of the state itself."

The basic concern over foreign investment is that power is exercised in the board rooms of the multinationals, out of reach of Canadians, Decisions on trade, employment, research and development, promotion of management, and investment are all beyond the control of Canadians: But is this really a consequence of **foreign** investment or of private investment? How much more control do the vast majority of Canadians have over the Royal Bank, Sun Life, Stelco, Eatons, or MacMillan Bloedel than they have over General Motors of Canada, Imperial Oil, Kresge's, Crown Zellerbach, or Canadian General Electric? Is it justifiable to call for decreasing foreign investment in the name of the Canadian people? To some extent, yes, the claim is justifiable because Canadian-based companies are **potentially** more susceptible to state regulation."

Consistent readers of *Forward* will be aware that the above quoted conclusions drawn by Clement are substantially the same as the views that have been advanced in the pages of *Forward* since its launching some four years ago. That holds true with Clement's last sentence too:"As long as the dominant mode of ownership continues to be private, the power of the-economic elite will continue to dominate at the expense of the citizenry." The widening call for the public ownership of such operations as INCO in Sudbury is proof of an increasing awareness of that fact.

(end)

85 ab meeting attend

July 31 / 78 Ward 6 meet NDP

about 35 people at beginning of meeting

1st item — report on cooperation

probably all got the RD signed leaflet
Ellie was prepared to distribute last time forward — we agreed not to

✓ RD challenged chair to revise agenda — open up our nominations + select our candidates

Heaps-Spencer opposed my motion

RD had thought Heap wanted to push this down

Naomi made useful contribution

Motion defeated

(X) RD spoke against the report on Cooperation — that it was our endorsement contingent on WCCO endorsement of our candidates

amendment hereby Goldblatt

liquidation — X tended contribution

Lockie spoke against my contribution — bowing to my speaking skills + apologizing for her use of word integrate

so all three Key left + dissociated themselves from my contribution

Ellie made a good contribution

X plan importance + significance of NDP and this accomodation to a nothing formation

Election of treasurer tabled

Nominations

Lockie nominated Heap

63 votes cast — 33 votes needed — Spencer 48 Heap 15 spoiled

50 Spencer 13 spoiled

Heap at this juncture made it known that he supported Sewell for Mayor — Sewell in audience

Accountability of endorsed candidates

Ross spoke against endorsement — extended contribution

X possed words NDP expects its endorsed candidates + them to "generally" support NDP policies

attached criteria — suggested had to represent labour and labour-NDP aim of socialism — attached C elements also rejected NDP's philosophy as irrelevant —

but you left when you couldn't get your NDP slate at last meeting

Endorsees spoke — Sparrow under question Paul Jones said he would support socialist start Dorion proclaimed self as socialist — we pushed them all to left

I asked Dorion question on cutbacks to indirectly

take up my decision not to question Spencer

Sewell projected assurances that the progressives would not only hold to what they had but could win a majority

Ellie thinks we came out strong — Spencer — Ross right on this — but but I couldn't vote for you Mark Goldblatt — Ron you were right I'm a candidate

strikes me is the number of persons in the communist movement that have come to join NDP ~~Went to union~~ why did they?

Because the NDP as the political arms of the Canadian labor movement transcends the communist movement — doesn't do away with it but reaches out farther — generalizes the experience of all communist movements with their particular problems to encompass the problem of the class as a whole

NDP should be involved in communist concerns — such roots deep in the most immediate & smallest concerns of the working people — but there is a danger

Union — tool room = section of the party the union the specific concerns cannot

Legend

Corporate yes — but with framework of its purposes & principles are for Ward 6

— not at this time

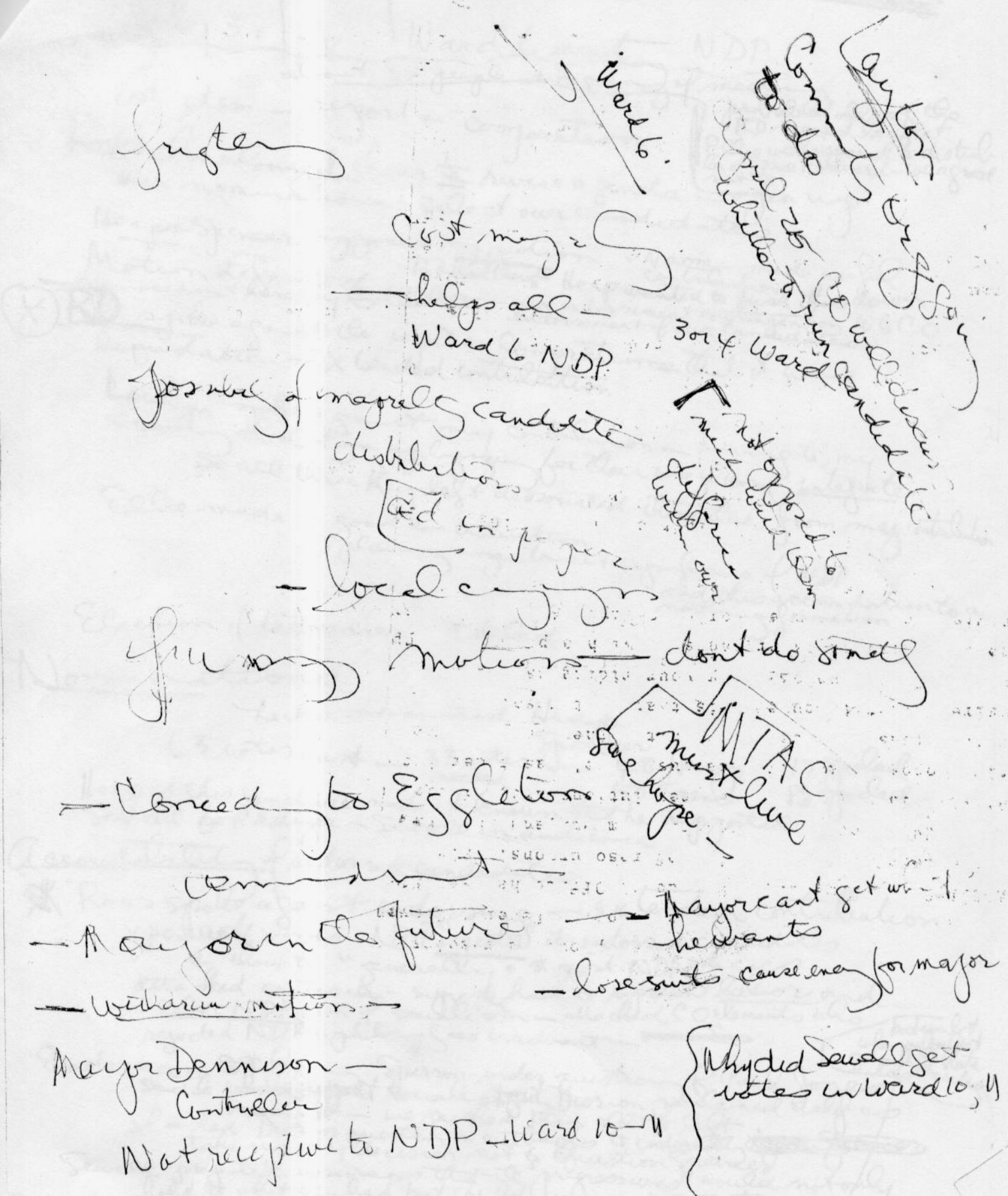
We see all of it

We would want to be in this as NDPer

— members should decide

get involved in

— foreboding —


Ward 6.
Cost money
helps all
Ward 6 NDP
3 or 4 Ward
Mayor
Motion
don't do
NITAC
must have
Mayor can't get
he wants
Mayor Dennison
Controller
Not receptive to NDP
Ward 10-11
Why did Sewell get
votes in Ward 10, 11

Spencer

1st motion to set up NDP might have got defeated - Corgeau for first RD intervention ~~[illegible]~~ include treasurer 27 23

2nd stage

RD - 2nd intervention RD — ammend (2) NDP label Candidates for B of E — ammendment to ammendment (1 or 2) — everyone present to accept ammendment to ammendment — Charlie Drake - asked Heap should I accept — he said yes — I did I asked chair to interpret ~~it~~ meant matter to be postponed - ruled otherwise mover of ammendment said he made ammendment to favor one — still chair didn't rule out ammend motion carried — one B of E confusion middleton didn't vote

3rd — ammendment to prop 6 — eliminate investigate possibilities to remodel — one after other to establish one operation — I spoke — we finally defeated this ammendment — Cnv

But to C Corp got all the steers — Allie posts by default

929 5695

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forward

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Protests starting against RCMP

by Ken Napier

As the federal government appointed McDonald Commission continues its snail's-pace, often secret, hearings into charges of illegality against the RCMP, public protests and preparations for significant actions are getting underway.

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association has launched a nationwide petition to win support for its demand that the federal government prosecute members of the RCMP who have already been clearly exposed as having violated civil rights by breaking the Post Office Act, and that Ottawa see to it that Criminal Code violations by the RCMP involving thefts, break-ins and arson, are prosecuted by provincial attorneys-general.

The circulation of the petition within the association itself has already resulted in more than 3,000 signatures and the collection of $3,500. Dr. Daniel Hill, former chairman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, has been appointed special campaign coordinator. President Walter Tarnopolsky stated that the association believes "there are a significant number of people who are angry at the government's handling of these scandals," that "we're looking for the support of thousands of Canadians." The plan is to present the petition to Ottawa this fall.

An assembly of 325 persons, among them more than 70 delegates from trade unions, and including activists from citizens' groups, Catholic social action groups, student associations, left wing political formations, mostly from Quebec but including among others radical lawyers from the BC and Ontario Law Unions, met in Montreal over May 26 — 28.

A major decision of the conference on "Police and Freedom" was to hold a mass demonstration against repression on October 16 — the eighth anniversary of the War Measures Crisis. It also adopted a series of demands including repeal of the War Measures Act, repeal of the Official Secrets Act, prohibition of all police activities directed against political dissent, and it adopted a Declaration of Principles.

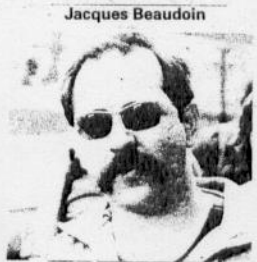
According to this declaration the

continued on page 2

Pierre Arnault

Jacques Beaudoin

Jacques Morrisette



Jacques Thibault

Packers conspire to break strike against freeze

by Paul Kane

While prices are continuing to skyrocket and the government is trying to sustain its wage freeze by brutally forcing workers at several plants to pay back sums that it alleges broke the old guidelines, the Big Two food packing bosses have joined in a conspiracy to carry the freeze over into the post controls period.

Some 2,000 workers at the five Swift Canadian plants voted by an overwhelming majority to reject a contract offer that would continue to imprison them in the old guidelines. Six days later they voted to strike for their demands. They hit the bricks on June 19th. Then — four days later — the Canada Packers bosses threw some 4,000 of their employees, working in plants in the same cities, onto the streets in a lockout. Thus the Canadian Food and Allied Workers Union has become the spearhead for all Canadian labor against a continuation of the wage freeze.

The pickets on the line that stretches through Richmond, BC, Edmonton and Lethbridge, Alberta, Winnipeg and Toronto are firm in their determination to break through a 6.5% first year and 6% second year wage offer, to win: an escalator clause that would protect their wages from continued inflation, better pensions, and the right to refuse to perform work they judge hazardous. They are not being barraged by a campaign about their higher wages compared to those being paid to U.S. workers for the simple fact that they are attempting to regain a wage parity they once had. Canadian employees of Swift's now get about 60 cents an hour less than U.S. Swift's employees, and are badly behind on pensions and fringe benefits.

Schneiders' have been mak'ng assurances that there will be no price increases. The price of meat according to their spokesman "is governed very heavily by the price of live cattle in the U.S." The union estimates that packers' wages in the retail price of beef amounts to only 5. cents a pound. But there is little question that the packinghouse bosses, particularly Canada Packers, whose plants in Moose Jaw, Red Deer, Calgary, Montreal and Charlottetown continue to operate, will seek price advantages.

The Food and Allied Workers will have to consider the advisability of attempting to force a quick settlement by bringing all their numbers into play. And all Canadian labor must see to it that this first major showdown of the post-controls period is a winner.

Sham & fraud of Govt's Renewed Federalism

by the Editors

A full six months before the much-touted and costly ($3 million so far) Task Force on Canadian Unity could even pull together its report, as if in admission that the thing was a complete bust, the Trudeau government has now handed down its Program of Renewed Federalism.

For all the extravagant fanfare around its White Paper, heralded as A Time for Action, with its rhetoric about "this test" of Canadians which "must begin with a form of exorcism," and the accompanying Charter of Rights and Freedoms, what does it amount to?

Instead of a new constitution reflecting the affirmation of the Quebec nation and the rise of a highly organized modern industrial working class, instead of clearing away some of the most glaring violations of democratic rights imposed by British imperialist power through the 110 year old BNA Act, we have a mélange of propositions. Though appearing in the guise of reforms they constitute an even greater violation of democratic rights and are designed to only further obfuscate the issues and actually impede democratic solutions.

Instead of simply abolishing it, the Senate is now to be dressed up as The House of Federation. Its appointed character will not only be retained but extended through an increase in the number of sinecures with provincial governments sharing in the appointments. It will retain its powers of interference and delay of Commons

continued on page 2

Solidarity with jailed Quebec prisoners

by Jean Laplante

A powerful campaign is underway to win the immediate release from prison, and the wiping out of the 6 and 90 day sentences that a Montréa court has imposed on four leaders o the transit maintenance workers union, affiliated to the Confederatio of National Trade Unions (CSN), a well as the cancellation of th $63,000 fine levied against thei union.

The four union militants — the fo mer president of the local, Jacque Beaudoin, the former treasure Jacques Thibault, the former busi ness agent, Pierre Arnault, and th current president of the local Jacques Morrisette—, presente themselves at the main courthous on June 1 for incarceration at the in famous Bordeaux Jail.

They were sentenced the previou

by Jean Laplante

A powerful campaign is underway to win the immediate release from prison, and the wiping out of the 60 and 90 day sentences that a Montréal court has imposed on four leaders of the transit maintenance workers' union, affiliated to the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), as well as the cancellation of the $63,000 fine levied against their union.

The four union militants — the former president of the local, Jacques Beaudoin, the former treasurer, Jacques Thibault, the former business agent, Pierre Arnault, and the current president of the local, Jacques Morrisette—, presented themselves at the main courthouse on June 1 for incarceration at the infamous Bordeaux Jail.

They were sentenced the previous

p 2

Left scores gains in elections to Peru's Constituent Assembly

by G. Stone

The elections for a constituent assembly in Peru, despite the fierce repressions right up to the eve of the June 18 vote, marked a continued radicalization in the country. The constituent assembly is to write a new constitution as part of the military government's promise to turn power over to a civilian regime by 1980.

In the countrywide vote totals the two big capitalist parties came out on top with 35 and 26% of the vote, but highly significant was the vote polled by three slates of candidates put forward by working-class currents, particularly the slate of the Workers Peasants and Students and Poor People's Front (FOCECP). Unofficial returns gave it 11.5%, the CP 5.7% and a bloc of centrist and Maoist parties 4.2%. The total vote for parties claiming to be socialist was more than 27%.

FOCEP was an electoral coalition based on a four point platform: "Support for the struggles of the working people for their class, national, and democratic demands. No submission to the government's plans nor to its regimented and anti-democratic constituent assembly. Struggle against the traditional bourgeois parties ... Struggle against continuation of the military government, struggle for the sovereignty of the working people."

The principal spokesman for FOCEP was the internationally known Trotskyist Hugo Blanco who returned from his second exile on April 12 and campaigned until deported along with nine other candidates on May 25. Blanco popularized the socialist program with a proposed draft constitution calling for the expropriation of all the capitalists and landlords, a government based on elected committees of workers and peasants, and renunciation of Peru's massive foreign debt.

In addition to four workers' parties the FOCEP included several trade union and peasant organizations and was supported by a number of well-known independent socialists including Laura Caller, the representative of Amnesty International in Peru, the poet and writer Manuel Scorza, and labor attorney Genaro Ledesme.

To achieve ballot status required the submission of 40,000 signatures and the establishment of committees in at least 12 provinces. In addition to voting for a slate voters cast a preferential vote for one member of the slate chosen. Initial reports show that Blanco was preferred by about 80% of those voting for the FOCEP.

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week for defying a court injunction that ordered the union membership back to work in a 43 day illegal strike that took place in 1974. The chief demands of the strike were that union contracts should be re-opened and wage rates indexed to the rising cost of living, and that the courts should not be allowed to grant injunctions to break strikes. Their militant struggle won widespread support through out Quebec. The fight to win freedom for the four is rallying ever wider support. On the same day the central council of the CSN unanimously demanded the repeal of the sentences and urged all its affiliates to do likewise. The local to which the four imprisoned belong has called upon the Canadian Labor Congress and all its provincial federations, area councils and union local affiliates, to demand the release of the four and the repeal of the sentences. Union locals across Quebec, La Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, and the Quebec NDP, among other organizations, have solidarized themselves with the campaign. The Parti Québécois Labor Minister, Pierre-Marc Johnson, stated that it is strictly a judicial matter, and the law must take its course, in defence of his government's failure to intervene.

Fund Drive off to late start but now picking up steam

by the Editors

As we go to press, our tallies show that of the targeted $5,000 for the Forward Fund Drive, we have attained in pledges and receipts only $2,615, even though July 1 was set as the deadline for the drive. However, we do not attribute this to a lack of adequate response on the part of **Forward** supporters. The failure lies in our late start in getting the fund drive organization and mailing campaign underway.

Because we were caught up in moving our offices to a better location, we were unable to commence serious organizing until well into June. The time and energy put into the moving ground our other work to a virtual halt. But despite all that, remarkably, our supporters have raised more than half the goal.

We are encouraged by your response and we plan to wind up the drive by the end of July. In the meantime, we will continue to work to make **Forward** the socialist voice in the NDP by taking up the important issues of the day. For example, we allocate space for republishing key and substantial contributions to the development of a socialist perspective and a socialist program such as those quoted from federal NDP Spadina candidate Dan Heap and the federal Trinity NDP riding in this issue.

If you haven't yet made your contribution to the fund drive, don't delay! Just take out your cheque book or make out a money order payable to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont., M5C 2K1.

Socialists clarify aims in current situation

by Wayne Roberts

A new organization, the Forward Group, has been formed to replace the Socialist League, whose members have been involved in the publication and distribution of **Forward** since 1974. The new name was adopted as more in keeping with supporters' evaluation of their purposes, and more befitting members' appreciation of the road ahead for the Canadian left as an integral part of the NDP experience.

The S.L. was formed in 1974 when a group left the League for Socialist Action. The S.L. hoped to prevent the dissipation of the Trotskyist heritage in Canada, especially its long-standing record of support and positive criticism of the NDP, and its identification with anti-U.S. imperialist sentiments which were then fostering a new generation of Canadian Marxists. The sectarian positions of the LSA and Revolutionary Marxist Group (now together in the Revolutionary Workers League) advocated through the pages of **Socialist Voice**, made the creation of an alternative organization necessary.

At the time of its formation, "league" had a definite meaning within the Canadian left. It expressed the perspective of a group to assemble the forces for a dedicated organization of consistent socialists, while solidarizing with and working within the NDP, the only working-class organization which can lay claim to the status of party, the only organization based on the mass consciousness of working people. The term "league" expressed the idea of an organization which had primarily educational purposes within the larger organizations of the working-class movement.

Since that time, with the disintegration and degeneration of various tendencies in the revolutionary left, organizations like the Revolutionary Workers League and the Communist League, have presented their tiny organizations as parties. Like the Stalinized Communist Party, they have the pretensions of a party, running candidates against, opposing frontally, and working outside the NDP. The tar from their brushes was being wiped on all organizations with similar names.

Public clarification therefore became necessary, in order for S.L. members to maintain their work in the NDP and avoid confusion, misrepresentation and misinterpretation.

The clarification is particularly timely at this juncture, when left forces are beginning to congeal within the NDP, and when left forces outside the NDP are beginning to reconsider some of their ultraleft decisions taken during the 1960's and early 1970's. Maintaining the perspective that a Marxist organization will be built on the basis of fusions within the Canadian left, fusions which will crystallize from the NDP experience in particular, the clarification was required to eliminate artificial organizational barriers to possible cooperation on the basis of ideas.

Forward Group welcomes the involvement of all likeminded socialists, working to build a fighting left wing in the NDP and labor movement, in the production and distribution of **Forward**.

forward #33 July 1978
Editor: Wayne Roberts

Attacks NDP leaders' Industrial Strategy

The following is a declaration by Dan Heap, longstanding NDP alderman for Ward 6 in the City of Toronto and currently NDP alderman for the federal riding of Spadina. It has been circulated among activists in the greater Toronto area. We publish it in full as a most valuable and a key contribution to a discussion which must be opened up from coast to coast in response to the NDP leadership's declarations in the name of the party on an Industrial Strategy.

While it endorses the concept of an industrial strategy which is also being talked up by the leadership of the Canadian Labour Congress, Alderman Heap's penetrating contribution projects a fundamentally different analysis and solution to the challenges before the working people of Canada. The editors of Forward *enthusiastically endorse the Heap statement and hope that* Forward's *readership will do everything possible to circulate it and sustain it in the discussions which must now unfold in every NDP constituency and every union local.*

A. Trudeau's last-minute decision to postpone the election, registers the Liberals' biggest defeat since Diefenbaker toppled them in 1957. Furthermore, the Liberals were then replaced by a rival party equally loyal to the goals of private ownership of industry and confident of continuing profitable expansion in Canada. Now Canada's whole system of political economy is so discredited that even a change of face, to a Turner or a Clark, does not hold much hope for Canada's ruling class. Therefore in panic the election was postponed.

Where does that leave us?

B. NDP principles

The NDP at its founding convention in 1961 laid down in its very first policy resolution a clear challenge to these two old parties who "speak piously of 'free enterprise'". "The truth is that the economy is effectively in the hands of corporate giants, and true freedom of enterprise has been stifled." Therefore "The New Democratic government will expand public and co-operative ownership for such purposes as the operation of utilities, the development of resources, the elimination of monopoly concentrations of power, and the operation of major enterprises immediately and directly affecting the entire nation."

Since then the delegates at every convention have elaborated on this challenge. Nationalize Inco, uranium, oil and gas, the railroads, Bell telephone, drug manufacturing, mining, forestry, and in fact any industry "that by reason of its monopoly or near monopoly position ...has moved beyond the practical control of the people by legislation, existing regulatory agencies, or the marketplace."

Over the years New Democrats have explored many techniques for either persuading the public or pressuring the "two old party" governments. Our conviction has been deepened by 17 years of experience, that production must "be for use, not for profit" (1963).

Last year, at the Winnipeg Convention, our national leadership (including the policy committee) said we need an "industrial strategy." Canada lacks an industrial strategy, a plan for reviving the manufacturing industry whose failure is at the heart of our economic crisis. Furthermore the NDP will provide that strategy and thereby win from the voters the right to govern Canada. At the OFL Convention in November, at the ONDP Convention in February, and at the CLC Convention in early April, our leaders promised this "industrial strategy."

Then on April 8, a week or so before the day most Canadians expected to hear an election called, Broadbent in his Leader's Report to the NDP federal council presented at last the NDP's Industrial Strategy. His speech summarizes a longer report, and both were issued **for discussion in the Party and for public debate.**

C. The Strategy At Last

What is the Industrial Strategy? I suggest we examine the National Priorities Discussion Paper called, "Towards Renewal of Canadian Industry."

The key concept is that the Liberal government is "incompetent". They lack "political will to act", they fail to do long-range planning, they lack "desire and determination to ensure that Canadians control their own economic future". The NDP, and only the NDP, has that will, that determination and desire for serious long-range planning.

The Industrial Strategy measures our economic crisis by 1,600,000 unemployed, the freezing of real incomes, decline of real investment, and $10.3 billion trade deficit in manufacturing; and it finds Canada worse than most other industrial countries. It points to four main problems:

1) Canadian manufacturing has failed to stay competitive with foreign imports;

2) Foreign ownership controlling 57% of all manufacturing downgrades Canadians' need for skilled jobs;

3) The U.S., as buyer of four-fifths of our manufactured exports, hinders us from competing;

4) 100 giant corporations control 46% of our manufacturing, mining, and forestry, and both Canadian and foreign-owned disregard Canada's interests.

The Industrial Strategy proposes that we expand the supply of housing, food and transportation, on which Canadians spend 80-85% of our incomes. Production of agricultural machinery and mass transit equipment are to be expanded, some even for export. Production machinery, of which we now import over half our needs, is to be made in Canada for construction, power generation, forestry, mining, metal working, pumps, and materials handling. Electrical goods production, in which 40,000 jobs per year are lost to imports, is to be expanded by "a planned, integrated industrial strategy."

In all this, the Industrial Strategy never goes to the root of our problem. **Why do** Canadian factories fail to compete with imports? **Why do** foreign owners control our manufacturing? **Why does** the U.S. monopolize our manufacturing exports? **Why have** 100 giant companies taken control of our key industries? No answer is suggested except "Liberal incompetence" and "failure of will." That explains nothing.

Yet the Liberals have another explanation, one they push every day through the media. They say the root of all our trouble is that Canadian workers are too lazy and too greedy. The government uses this excuse to lay off employees, freeze wages, cut Unemployment Insurance benefits and social services, and harass unions and New Democrats through the RCMP. If New Democrats are to defend and lead the Canadian working class, we must lay the blame for our economic crisis where we know it belongs: on the private-profit owners of capital.

The private owners of industrial and investment capital, both Canadian and foreign, have found it most profitable to starve Canadian branch-plants of technological growth till they are so obsolete they must close; most profitable to integrate Canadian manufacturing into multinational operations that can switch production to low-wage countries often with fascist governments suppressing the labour movement; most profitable to lock Canada's raw materials into foreign manufacturing and chain Canadian workers as consumers to high-priced imported manufactures. This same capitalist class also mainly controls the governments, the army, the police, the media, the schools and universities, the health services, and the churches. This is the class that is throwing Canadians out of work, raising prices, turning Parliament into a sham, mocking our civil rights, and growing rich by doing it. And this is the class that calls us workers lazy and greedy.

We must name our enemy in order to mobilize Canadian workers to struggle with them for control of Canada.

Unfortunately the Industrial Strategy nowhere names the enemy. Therefore its rosy promises of expanding production are as hollow as the Liberal promises it mocks.

Expand house production? It fails to acknowledge that a few real estate giants control most of the developable land, the building companies, and the investment capital. It also fails to mention NDP policy resolutions calling for expropriation of land banks at historic cost, and if necessary, bank capital.

Expand production of transit equipment? It fails to say that land monopolies and foreign automotive monopolies are destroying transit by forcing urban sprawl; and it neglects NDP policy of nationalizing land, transportation and communication.

Increase manufacture of farm machinery, electrical goods, and production machinery? It skims over the last two decades in which profiteering owners deliberately dismantled much of these industries in Canada. How does it expect to reverse that destruction without the NDP's policy of social ownership?

Expand food production? But every year Canada exports more and more unprocessed food and imports more and more processed food, so that we are losing the benefit of our own agriculture. How will "Canadian" firms be made to process Canadian food for Canadian mouths except by social ownership?

The Industrial Strategy rightly faults the Liberal government for relying on the export of our raw materials and the sale of our resources still in the ground, as at Syncrude. This is the place to declare the NDP policy of nationalizing uranium, oil, minerals, and forest products and using their revenues to spread manufacturing industries across Canada—but never a word is said.

While the Industrial Strategy keeps such strict silence on those policies that ever since 1961 have distinguished the NDP from the two old parties, how **does** it propose to remedy the troubles growing from pri-

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vate ownership?

D. What Side Are You On?

Well, apparently by out-liberalling the Liberals. We must look carefully at the Industrial Strategy's proposals for putting into effect its program of production expansion.

First it says an NDP government will set up a body similar to Britain's "National Economic Development Council," which "pulls industrial and labour leaders into discussion on broad policies." This is what Trudeau already has tried, with no benefit to Canadian workers, only wage controls.

Then it proposes a Canadian Development Fund System to direct part of the investment of large corporations. Yet the Canada Development Corporation was set up by the Liberals to do just that, and has failed to alter profiteering. It proposes long-term agreements with large corporations, rewarding socially useful investment with tax benefits and grants; but this is really only an expansion of Liberal programs like DREE.

All these "incentive" schemes, and the others mentioned, the Liberals have tried since World War II. They have made the rich corporations richer and have given the working class high prices and mass unemployment. Why does the Industrial Strategy think these same devices in NDP hands will help the workers against the corporations? If industry is still run by its private owners—for profit, that is—even an NDP government will be powerless to reverse the present anti-labour policy.

We must recognize that Trudeau and those with him have openly declared, for three years, their decision to reduce labour's share of income so as to increase capital's share. They **have** political will to act. They **do** lay long-range plans and follow them. They have abundant desire and determination to ensure that the owners of capital control the economic future of Canada. Their chief battle has been to confuse, divide, and defeat the labour movement so as to force the working class to accept lower wages. On this essential point the NDP's industrial strategy is silent.

The most grave failure in the Industrial Strategy paper is its fuzzy "public participation in industrial planning," "the foundation to its success."

Unions are scarcely mentioned, except to say that they will be included with corporations and government in conferences, councils and committees to find "solutions to industrial weakness." This sounds like the "Labour Market Board" proposed in April by the CLC Executive to the Quebec City convention but withdrawn from the agenda because of rank-and-file delegates' opposition to "tripartism."

No mention is made of the labour movement as a growing independent democratic force. There is no recognition of the working class whose interests are clearly opposed to the investors of capital. There is no call for the NDP to help build the independent power of workers' organizations. Rather the workers' representatives are to sit down in state organizations with the present owners of capital, the very people who have given us 1,600,000 unemployed, frozen wages, and skyrocketting prices.

In fact, the Industrial Strategy proposes to by-pass the labour movement, by-pass the only organizations created and controlled by working people, and set up other structures that would be created by the government so that "citizens" will "be deeply involved in the planning process". We will be showered with government information, MP's will have enlarged staffs and constituency offices, "Community Development Councils", working through townhall meetings, questionnaires, and open-line programs will "develop ideas and suggestions" and "be a mechanism by which citizens could achieve serious participation".

Have the writers of the Industrial Strategy got their tongue in their cheek, or have they all forgotten that it was Trudeau, ten years ago, who floated into Liberal power on the promise of "participatory democracy"?

E. NDP Industrial Policy Is Public Ownership

This is not the way to go. The NDP must build its industrial strategy on that commitment to public and co-operative ownership of industry on which our party was founded. Slick co-optation schemes belong to millonaire Trudeau, who began his political career as a clever New Democrat professor of political economy and is now the chief scourge of the Canadian working class. Let's not ape him. Our task is to declare the necessity of public and co-operative ownership of our country's key industries, and to unite mind-labour with hand-labour in a movement that will rescue our country from the corporations.

EL PUEBLO UNIDO JAMAS SERA VENCIDO.

Protests hit Broadbent for abandoning socialism

by Dale Ritch

Strong protests from at least two important federal NDP organizations in Metro Toronto have been issued in response to the total absence of socialist perspective in the Industrial Strategy proposals of NDP national leader, Ed Broadbent. Broadbent's statements were made in the period prior to an expected spring election, but the controversy surrounding them remains relevant to socialists in the NDP. Both the Dan Heap statement and Trinity open letter, reproduced elsewhere on this page, deplore the abandonment of party program on the central issue of public ownership.

Neither the letter nor the statement had occasion to refer to an even more blatant attack by Broadbent on the NDP program. In a manner reminiscent of Stephen Lewis' dumping of the ONDP's nationalization of the resource sector plank during last year's provincial election, Broadbent, in a May 8 interview with the **Globe**, attacked the whole concept underlying public ownership and socialism.

When questioned about the willingness of corporations to go along with his Canada Investment Fund proposals, Broadbent responded that there wouldn't be a flight of capital, because "businessmen ... would conclude that this is a government that makes sense, doesn't want to nationalize the economy, but wants a growing economy". Not only does he make the tie between growth and private enterprise, a belief which the recession is daily disproving. By removing the threat of nationalization, he even undermines the investment bank idea, by stripping away any meaningful sanction that a potential NDP government could use against companies who refuse to invest in his proposed bank.

Going further, Broadbent states that he is against large-scale public ownership "philosophically ... because it would lead to over-concentration of state power and a tendency to abuse that power and destroy the notion of freedom, which is at the heart of socialism". So, the leader of the NDP equates freedom with capitalism. Quite an evolution for a man who once correctly thought that full freedom and the market were incompatible, but who now panders to the prejudices of business.

To top it off, Broadbent launched an assault on the party program, by indicating that the current Liberal mix of private and government-owned companies would remain static "for the foreseeable future", with the sole exception of a Petrocan take-over of Imperial Oil.

The recent insert in the Ontario **New Democrat** entitled "Jobs For All: The First Goal" elaborates basic features of the party program which indicate the distance which Broadbent has placed between himself and the party program. The insert has no less than nine references to public ownership, only one of which a Broadbent-led NDP government would implement in the foreseeable future. The insert specifies such forms of public ownership as a Crown corporation in food processing and distributing, nationalization of CPR and CP Air, a National Building Corporation, land banks under public ownership, take-over of runaway firms that are economically viable, etc., etc. Other important planks dealing with nationalization of natural resources and of Bell telephone are missing from the mini-program, but are party policy nonetheless.

Broadbent is obviously continuing along the path opened up by Stephen Lewis and Gerry Caplan, in an attempt to prove to the businessmen of Canada that he can 'run the shop' better than the big business parties. Unfortunately, the disastrous results of such a line, reflected in the Ontario election results and the slippage to 14% of the popular federally, have not deterred the party leadership from their seemingly suicidal course. They are convinced that the road to electoral success lies in convincing the capitalist media that the NDP is no different from the other two parties.

Riding activists can respond to the Trinity and Spadina initiatives by sending similar protests to the federal executive and to their Provincial Councils. The full strength of the left, including the now-disbanded Ontario left-caucus and the BC Open Caucus, will have to be mobilized to defeat this reversal of the federal leadership's position.

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Electricians curbed by US trusteeship

The 4,200 member Toronto local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has been placed under trusteeship by the US-based IBEW bureaucracy. Membership meetings, if there are any, have no authority whatever. The elected executive board has been pushed aside and deprived of all power. Full authority over the local, and all its assets, including the enforcement of its contracts with the construction bosses, now rests in the hands of one man appointed by the Washington D.C. office.

The imposition of this brutal dictatorship over the Toronto membership is the latest development in a lengthy struggle waged in the local against the US-based leadership's denial of rank and file democracy.

Last summer, after the local had been on strike for two months for a shorter work-week to alleviate unemployment among its members, the international's vice-president, Ken Rose, brushed aside the executive's proposal for a ratification vote on a contract offer and ordered the ranks back on the job. The opposition to this edict campaigned for a "no" ballot in the mail-in vote on the contract, held almost a month later. It fell short of winning a majority by a scant 13votes — 1,337 against, 1,350 in favour.

The chairman of the executive, Joe Fashion, was suspended from office and barred from seeking office for seven years. The elections that were to take place this month have been cancelled and nearly all members of the executive board suspended, with probably more charges to be laid. A business agent who had been fired by the international — its appointed substitute was voted out of office by the membership last year — and a member of the executive, had both announced plans to run for business agent of the local

The formal justification for the trusteeship was a seven-page document which tallied such allegations as at a November 1977 membership meeting "vile and abusive remarks were made about Mr. Rose", that the local spent $10,000 for a Christmas party for the members and their families without authorization from the Washington office, a local practice since 1952, and that other expenditures involving donations, pension supplements to members, and welfare funds, were made without authorization.

After six months of his authoritarian trusteeship the international's appointee must appear before the International Executive Board to report and make recommendations to the very body that gave him his powers. If the international brass were to decide to continue the trusteeship beyond a year, under an Ontario government act a hearing must be held before the Ontario Labour Relations Board. In the meantime, while continuing to pay their dues and assessments, the Toronto membership are being deprived of their most elementary democratic rights.

The CLC leadership has been making words about the need to build an authoritative central leadership to enable it to protect and extend the rights and the aspirations of the membership. How can the executive and the executive council with Rose sitting on it in the capacity of a general vice-president, remain silent in the face of this flagrant violation of democratic rights of Canadian unionists by the Washington brass? Why doesn't it strike off a committee to investigate this situation and take action in the interests of the good name of the Canadian labour movement. Union locals across Canada must demand that it do so. Failure of the CLC to act leaves the door open to government intervention in labor's internal affairs, and indeed gives it justification.

Oil, Chemical workers launch new union

The 10.000-member Canadian Chemical Workers Union and the 20,000 Canadian members of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union are now headed towards a fusion, according to a report by Neil Reimer, national director of OCAWI, from Saskatoon.

Reimer described the merger of OCAWI with the Canadian chemical workers' breakaway from the International Chemical Workers Union as a precedent-setting move and a major breakthrough in the trade union structure of Canada. He said that the merger is necessary because the structure of trade unions in Canada is obsolete. Canada has a group of small unions which depend on the U.S. structures for influence. He projected that the autonomous Canadian union has a potential of 150,000 members. He also stated that global unions must be developed so that labor can meet multinational corporations head-on, and emphasized that the new Canadian national union would promote international solidarity of workers.

forward #33 July 1978

Urges NDP to stand firm on policy

by G. Donnelly

Despite determined efforts by Reform Metro coalition politicians to undermine the decision of the NDP Metro Toronto Area Council in favor of NDP participation in municipal politics, it appears that MTAC is headed towards fielding a number of NDP-label municipal candidates across Metro. In a two-page document adopted at a June 19 meeting, MTAC outlined its aim of establishing NDP ward organizations, on its road toward a full Metro NDP slate in conjunction with the Metro Labor Council.

Some progress has been made in establishing the MTAC slate. Pat Cavanaugh, a former alderman in York Borough, announced the intentions of the NDP associations there to put forward a full slate. NDP candidates and ward structures have been announced in individual ridings. The meeting struck off a Metro organizing committee to co-

ALDERMAN DAN HEAP

ordinate ward associations in all municipalities. Furthermore, a municipal program, based on accepted party policy, is being put together for July distribution to all Metro ridings.

Perhaps the clearest indication of this new momentum among party activists is a joint statement issued by Toronto Alderman Dan Heap and Trustees Dan Leckie and Bob Spencer, declaring the need for a real working class alternative to big business politics at city hall.

While identifying themselves with many of the efforts of the Reform movement, they point to its fundamental limitation, that "it must stick to municipal issues and tries only to correct the harmful results of the corporations' profiteering." They point out that it is "the system that supports these corporations (that) must be challenged and for that fight working people need an NDP work at all levels. (For example, the Reform Caucus' battle against Crombie's Central Area Plan was fought on the wrong grounds. We only roused public opposition to excessive building but failed to show that production for profit always leads to those bad results. Therefore, working people saw no point in the debate and support for the Reform Caucus dwindled away.)

"Therefore we believe it is time for a transition to a new stage of political action. The NDP must move directly into the municipal elections. We must still support the goals of the Reform movement. However, we must also work for basic political and economic change such as public ownership of land, natural resources and capital to make the Reform movement's goals possible. These are principles supported in NDP policy and the labour movement. Working people are mobilizing to end the rule of the corporations to win control of Toronto and Canada by way of the NDP. Therefore we need a municipal organization at the Ward level to work with the NDP caucuses at Queen's Park and Ottawa..."

Toronto NDP preparing to field municipal slate

Disturbed by the failure of the NDP leadership "to address major issues in a way that distinguishes us from the two 'old line' parties," the Trinity Riding (Toronto) NDP Campaign Committee issued an open statement of criticism on May 31. The statement notes that many voters do not see the NDP as a real alternative "and our popularity falls to 14%" from 16% in the opinion polls.

According to the statement, party pronouncements "have repeatedly hidden the fact that we believe in socialism" so that even the **Financial Post** has written "that the electorate would have a very tough time distinguishing our position from that of the Conservatives." The Committee complains that Mr. Broadbent's statements and official party literature omit all reference to public ownership in dealing with unemployment and almost all in dealing with renewal of Canadian industry, leaving the NDP stuck "with the same old bag of tools used by the capitalist parties for the last thirty years" so that "the Tories have succeeded in 'stealing our issue' " with little difficulty.

The Trinity Committee scores the party's reluctance to stress RCMP illegalities and harassments "as a campaign issue." "The party has chosen to ignore these flagrant acts and countenanced the abridgement of the rights of all Canadians for fear of alienating sections of the population who subscribe to the slogan of 'national security'...we ask our Federal leader to intervene, now."

They also point out the party's failure to take firm stands on other civil rights issues such as speaking out against the Green Paper on Immigration for its repressive character and supporting the Québécois' nationalist aspirations. According to the Trinity statement, not only did the last Federal Convention water down NDP support for these aspirations, "the Federal party's reluctance to stress that policy, especially the right of the Québécois to make their own choice without coercion, further makes our position like that of our two opponents, and a far cry over what was decided at Convention."

The statement concludes that the NDP's "playing down" of "essential differences" is "a mistake both morally and politically." In the midst of a serious economic crisis, a constitutional crisis, and a crisis of civil liberties, "people are looking for an alternative." Therefore, it argues, the party must "state our policies honestly and above all forthrightly" for the long-term battle for the support of "the working people of Canada who are looking for a choice but do not see one."

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Ont Status of Women Council

Health report ducks criticism of gov't

by Ellie Kirzner

The abortion rights struggle has precariously see-sawed for some time now. For every move forward, the forces of the anti-choice contingent, the so-called "Right to Life", etc., have counter-checked with yet another restraint. Their latest victory came at the June meeting of the Canadian Medical Association, where the general council reverted to a 1975 clause maintaining that a physician objecting to abortion on moral or religious grounds is not obligated to refer the patient to another source of treatment.

In the same downward swing, Ontario Health Minister Timbrell turned down proposals in late April from two Toronto women's groups who asked the government to grant their proposed clinics hospital status, so they could offer, besides a whole range of women's health needs, first trimester abortion services within the framework of the Criminal Code. Timbrell in refusing, cited the "sensitive" and "volatile" nature of the issue. Given the nature of the Criminal Code on abortion, he mused, "I don't think any provincial minister has any choice, but to take a middle-of-the-road approach.

As if to belie the Ontario minister's words, the Quebec Social Affairs Minister announced a week and a half later that that province was establishing 20 family planning clinics offering therapeutic abortion services, "to assure an equitable service to the whole population."

While it is a healthy sign that women are at last seeking a greater role in their own health care— in part due to a growing disenchantment with established medicine—it is important to avoid the trap of soft-pedalling women's challenges to government to meet its obligation under the guise of women's self-help. Such a problem emerges in the latest publication of the provincial government's Ontario Status of Women's Council, **Towards a Positive Image of Women and Health.** While the pamphlet raises some central issues, the subtle and unpleasant odor "you can fix it all yourself" drifts through. This seems largely to function as a way of retreating from a frontal attack on provincial government policy.

The pamphlet is useful insofar as it recognizes that many of women's health problems may "have social rather than medical origins. The image of the 'hysterical female', still exists today to some extent, and the traditional concepts of the weak female suffering from the 'sickness' of puberty, pregnancy, childbirth and menopause have left their mark on today's medicine."

In explaining the ramifications of this it gives us the following examples: women are prescribed twice as many psychotropic drugs as men; they become the recipients of unnecessary surgery. In a recent survey of sterilization in Saskatchewan, although sterilization for males is a much simpler and safer operation than for females, 32 men were sterilized as compared to 1,441 women. A 1976 study in Saskatchewan by the College of Physicians and Surgeons judged that 23.7% of those hysterectomies studied were unnecessary. Birth control and abortion are still not widely available and childbirth procedures need to be humanized.

But despite the breadth of issues it raises, the pamphlet treats the government who funds it with kid gloves. There is delicately not a word about health care cutbacks or rising OHIP fees as if these were quite unrelated to women's health care problems. Pointing out the possible dangers of occupational hazards on women's reproductive functions from chemicals, gas and radiation, it speaks only of the "complicated" problem of liability for employers, making no comment at all upon the Ontario government's scandalous habit of shielding employers from occupational disease claims. Futher, while praising the concept of "well women" clinics devoted to problems of birth control, abortion, and general female health, it makes no mention of the Ontario government's arrogant refusal to accredit such clinics so that abortions can be offered — even, surprisingly, "gratefully acknowledging the assistance" of Dennis Timbrell, Minister of Health! The only swipe it takes at government policy is on the question of its meagre allocation of funds to family planning research.

Of the 11 recommendations, five of them are directed to what women ought to do to improve their **own** medical service — such things as forming self-help groups, recognizing the side effects of drugs, acquiring positions of authority in health care, etc. And while no one could disagree with the direction towards greater self-determination over our medical care, one suspects that in this context, such exhortations are at the expense of a frontal confrontation with the mess the Ontario government calls health care.

forward #33 July 1978

The police are just "doing their job" in harassing Fleck's striking women

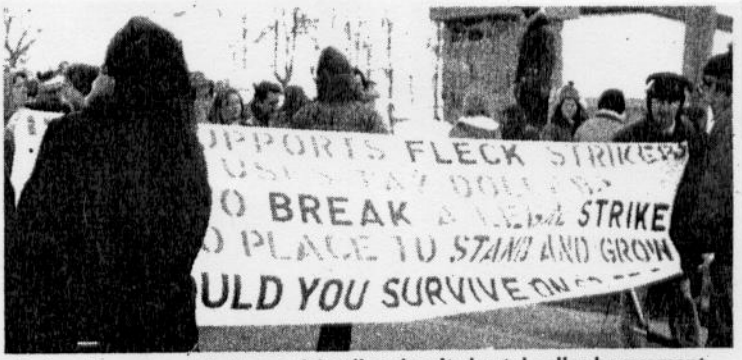
by R.B.

It's been a brutal initiation into the collective bargaining process for the women of UAW Local 1620, seeking their first contract with the Fleck Manufacturing Company. Since the strike began March 6th, Ontario Provincial Police have been out in force, as many as 250 police men and women actually on the line, buses and carloads of more officers parked along the side roads leading into the small industrial complex of Huron Park. Except for the two officers perched with movie cameras on the roof of a neighboring building, the police aren't here to observe. Around seven each morning, they pour out of their cruisers and their temporary headquarters in a nearby Recreational Hall, to clear a path for the 25 scabs still reporting for work.

Riot-equipped police have twice battered their way through peaceful pickets. March 30th, without warning, 250 officers charged 80 demonstrators, throwing unionists across the hoods of cars and jabbing riot sticks into faces and groins. One reporter caught a stick in the ribs. May 24th, again without warning, 60 officers knocked unionists to the ground as they cleared a path for scabs. The latest incident has resulted in three Fleck workers and a UAW worker from Windsor laying charges against OPP officers. Superintendent H.T. Garry, who gave the order to charge, has suggested that unionists fell over each other in confusion and that one careless woman accidently ran into a riot stick. His men would never hit a woman. But reporters watched them do it.

The high level of police involvement and the half ownership of Fleck by the family of the Deputy Minister of Industry and Tourism, has forced this strike to the foreground of labor's struggle in Ontario. The leadership and rank and file of the labor movement and the New Democratic Party have established their solidarity with the strikers, donating to the strike fund and travelling considerable distances in the middle of the night to be on the line with the women when the strike-breakers try to get through. In a few instances large picket lines have closed the plant for 24 hours. But too frequently non-strikers have obeyed orders to report for work as early as 3:00 a.m., sneaking into the plant before the pickets, demonstrating the sort of mentality that makes for a good scab.

This strike is also at the heart of the fight for women's rights. The women's wages range from $2.85 to about $3.24 an hour, as compared with a range of $3.75 to $5.50 for men. To help maintain this disparity, the OPP is man-handling the women and using intimidation tactics they would never employ against male strikers. The liberal wing of the Feminist movement had been conspicuously silent on the Fleck situation. But many local militant Feminists have stood beside their sisters. The Organized Working Women of the Toronto Area contributed $200 to the strike fund and spearheaded a demonstration of close to 300 women on the line.



Fleck strikers in solidarity on picket line despite brutal police harassment
Photo by R.B.

As government and union officials wrangle over the "irregularities" associated with this strike, and as journalists and politicians lament the damage which Fleck is doing to otherwise harmonious labor relations, it's important to remember that Fleck is, after all, just another strike — a natural consequence of the operation of the economy and the collective bargaining process in Ontario. There's nothing unusual about workers, particularly women, confronting the company, the government, the courts and the police, in their fight for a decent standard of living. The police appear a little brutal in this one. But as they frankly point out, they're only doing their job. There is a clear conflict of interest here, when the government sanctions massive police intervention to break a strike against a company partly owned by a deputy minister's family. But the conflict of interest is always there beneath the surface, and will be there until workers take control of the government and the work place. The women of Local 1260 are learning what labor relations are all about.

forward
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PQ building its base for the referendum

by John Morgan

The Parti Québécois government in Quebec continues to legislate significant reforms, with the aim of winning the overwhelming support of workers for a "yes" vote in next year's referendum on independence.

At the same time, the PQ manoeuvred the federal government into total isolation when Ottawa intervened to cut provincial sales taxes. Rejecting their offer to compensate the provinces by two-thirds for a temporary cut of 3 percentage points, Quebec instead removed the entire 8% sales tax on clothing, shoes, furniture and cloth in an effort to stimulate local manufacturing. When Ottawa then refused to compensate Quebec directly for more than a small portion of lost revenue, not only four western provinces opposed the Liberals, but Quebec's National Assembly unanimously supported the PQ against Ottawa. Finally, Ottawa recognized its obligation to compensate Quebec for the full amount, but overriding the PQ's objections, decided on a direct rebate on 1977 income taxes. (No refund will go to the million or so Québécois who don't pay any tax.)

Meanwhile, PQ Finance Minister Parizeau has increased income tax rates on upper brackets, and both decreased the rate on low incomes and almost doubled exempted income. As well, personal tax exemption will be indexed to the cost of living next year. Low income groups will also enjoy up to 40% cuts in property taxes (while those in middle and upper income levels will pay the same.)

Businessmen howled that executives paid $35,000 a year would now remit $1,861 more in taxes than they would in Ontario. William Turner, president of the giant paper firm Consolidated Bathurst told shareholders it would cost $4 million more than in Ontario to make up executives' take-home pay, and Power Corp. president Paul Demarais charged that the PQ's policies were "exacting their price" in rising unemployment due to lost head offices (his subsidiary Domglass has moved to Toronto). While CPR mogul Ian Sinclair decried the "very significant" increase in dividend taxes, Conseil du Patronat president Pierre DesMarais II stated flatly that there can be no economic recovery in Quebec under present government policies.

The business world finds the PQ government preoccupied with translating its French language bill into reality and explaining its comprehensive cultural policy. As commercial life takes on a French-only visage, legislation designed to give Québécois control of their cultural heritage is being discussed. The author of both, Cultural Development minister Camille Laurin, in the course of describing the historical continuity and fibre of Québécois nationalism, dismissed pan-Canadian culture as being "hypothetical," reflecting Canada's position as "an economic, political and cultural satellite of the United States."

Dr. Laurin noted that Canada nevertheless has always stunted and "provincialized" Quebec's cultural development. He demanded Ottawa hand over control of Quebec's "cultural property" — historical sites and artifacts and national parkland. He called for Quebec control of copyrights, and the power to regulate ownership and management over all communications. As for the media, Quebec proposes to limit the number of non-Québécois on boards of directors, and to establish that a minimum control of shares be held by Québécois. He charged Ottawa with discrimination against Quebec in granting research funds, and reiterated the need for a Québécois press agency under partial state ownership. The PQ also plans two paperback publishing houses to mass-produce Quebec authors.

The PQ government has responded to strong women's rights currents within it by setting up 20 family planning clinics which will offer therapeutic abortions. Social Affairs Minister Denis Lazure announced that this service will be available for the first time in many centres outside of Montreal, and in non-Anglophone hospitals in Montreal itself. PQ cabinet ministers Lise Payette and Pierre Marois also recently announced to a meeting of the Federation of Quebec Women that legislation giving women maternity leave, and guaranteeing them a return to their jobs is planned. FQW president Sheila Finestone called the legislation the most advanced in North America.

There has been a massive response to the PQ's cancellation of leases held by private clubs of the privileged on wilderness lakes and streams as ordinary fishermen invade areas previously prohibited to them.

An important, if unnoticed, reform was the abolition of absentee property owners' municipal suffrage, defining residence as the only qualification for a vote.

Responding to the pressure of Quebec labor, the PQ Justice ministry dropped charges against Louis Laberge, leader of the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC), on trial for the third time for alleged incitement to violence in a 1974 strike. But it did not heed the call of the CNTU (Confederation of National Trade Unions) to free four imprisoned leaders of the city transit mechanic's union who had defied a court injunction during a strike in 1974.

The CNTU called upon the PQ to respond more vigorously to the problems it outlined at its recent convention: inflation, unemployment, plant closures, poverty and deterioration of the urban environment. Junior college students demonstrated and occupied schools this spring to protest teacher cutbacks, high cafeteria prices and lack of academic freedom. Students from Montreal CEGEPs Vieux Montréal and André Laurendeau urged PQ Education Minister J-Y Morin to enact party policy for free higher education. The PQ's own Office de la langue française in a study revealed that francophone schools produce only 35% of Quebec's graduates.

The Parti Québécois, despite the constant attacks of the federal government, the steadily stagnant Canadian economy and the Quebec Liberals choosing a strong, moderate nationalist leader in Claude Ryan, continues to firm its support on the most advanced layer of francophone workers. It has succeeded in raising over $2 million in a fund drive which had as it's goal $1.3 million, overwhelmingly from individuals. During the drive it sold 86,000 new or renewed memberships, giving it a mass committed base with an activist sector estimated at 10,000, many of whom are trade unionists.

Its National Council has considerable weight with the government. Council president Louise Harel recently sponsored a successful resolution giving it the right to approve the wording of the referendum on independence, and to assure itself that the independentist thrust is not lost in the campaign.

Bill 92, which lays down the guidelines for the referendum, is now law, meeting with little criticism from the opposition who are said to favor an early vote. The PQ will wage the campaign in terms of "sovereignty-association"; of political sovereignty which in the eyes of the vast majority of PQ'ers from Lévesque down means complete political independence, and economic "association," which in the present political context is obviously necessary, in spite of die-hard federalists' threats and blackmail that if Quebec goes independent it will be cut off and inevitably sink in isolation.

A recent public opinion poll showed that already a slim majority of francophones in Quebec understand and favor the concept of sovereignty-association, in spite of the virtual unanimity of big business against any form of independence and the cold feet of small and medium businessment like those of Le Groupement Québécois d'Entreprises, which reported that 72% of their members "fear independence."

The PQ is building on the backbone of francophone workers' support for independence.

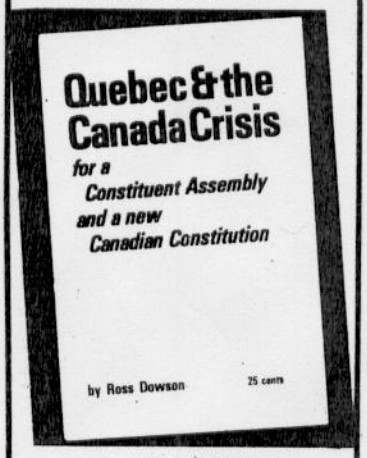
This spring's convention of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) adopted the main line of a 53-page document that urges the Quebec working class to build "their own independent political organization."

The document criticizes the PQ for its failure to take a firm anti-imperialist stance. It also points out that "the primary goal of the PQ strategy is to establish a kind of social peace by getting the various classes to believe in the possibility of working together."

"In contrast to the PQ strategy of class collaboration," it declares that "it is only through struggling for the independence of the labor movement that we can take responsibility for the national question in accordance with our own interests."

"Because the PQ does not respond to the workers demands for an independent and socialist Quebec the trade union movement cannot give the PQ unconditional support."

A WORKING CLASS ANSWER TO THE TASK FORCE ON CANADIAN UNITY



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forward #33 July 1978

A review of Resnick's book on

Nationalism in Canada

by Abie Weisfeld

Since the early 1960's. when the Pearson government capitulated to U.S. pressure and agreed to install nuclear missiles in Canada, hostility to U.S. domination of Canada has been a pervasive feature of radical and working class movements. From the "Ban the Bomb" crusade of the 1960's, to the Waffle group in the NDP which interlocked independence and socialism, to the struggles for rank-and-file- control of Canadian unions, hostility to U.S. foreign policy and the "American way of life" has become more and more prominent. A most unusual phenomenon: radical "nationalism" in an advanced capitalist and formally independent country.

The most important book to deal with this phenomenon has now appeared: Philip Resnick's **The Land of Cain: Class and Nationalism in English Canada, 1945-1975**

Unlike all liberals and many socialists, Resnick evaluates nationalist consciousness on the basis of its class and historical origins. He recognizes that nationalism has had many different forms throughout history: from the anti-colonialist nationalism expressed in the American revolution of 1776, to the Nazi chauvinism of the 1930's, to the pro-British Empire sentiment in pre-60's Canada, to the new anti-U.S. imperialist consciousness of today. Placing himself in the Marxist tradition, Resnick points out that: "It is important to recall that Marx and Engels in the very quotation claiming that the working class have no country go on to say: 'We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself **the** nation, it is, so far itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word." This suggests, Resnick goes on to say, "the possibility of a working class, as opposed to a bourgeois, form of nationalism, and a working class concept of the nation". That provides the starting point for Resnick's thesis.

While many political observers, whether of the left or not, have assumed that the Canadian capitalist class would have to be nationalist, Resnick does an effective job of destroying this particular myth. His research has uncovered very revealing material on the orientation of the Canadian corporate elite. One prominent representative of the leading corporate party, Lester B. Pearson of the Liberals, frankly admitted to a college meeting in Florida during 1954: "We are the junior partner of a North American partnership which will not be dissolved by communist blandishment or isolationist timidity," two of Pearson's evils which he seems to use as synonyms for nationalism.

Resnick dismisses the possibility of any sector of the Canadian capitalist class, including the bankers who are sometimes seen as bastions of Canadian capitalist strength, ever identifying with a wholesale thrust for Canadian independence. He then concludes: "We tend to think that too rigid a distinction between foreign-controlled and indigenous fractions of the Canadian bourgeoisie minimizes their common interests, indeed the fusion of interests that takes place between their most important members over the post-war period. Though there are nuances in the positions of different capitalist spokesmen, and some are more sympathetic to forms of Canadian nationalism than others, by and large all accept an important measure of continentalism provided a **minimum area** of Canadian sovereignty is maintained. On this score, American branch plant presidents and Canadian bankers see eye to eye, just as Tory spokesmen differ **but in degree** from Liberal."

Having recognized that the corporate world in Canada is not the reservoir of nationalism, the question arises: where does this nationalism come from? Resnick points to what he calls "the new petty bourgeoisie, and those in training for the new petty bourgeoisie", namely technicians, teachers and civil servants. The fact that they are not in the private sector...makes a certain identification of new petty bourgeois class interest and nationalism inevitable."

What Resnick calls the new middle class can more accurately be called the new working class, in particular the new layers of public sector workers, civil servants, teachers, employees of public corporations, and new layers in the social service sector.

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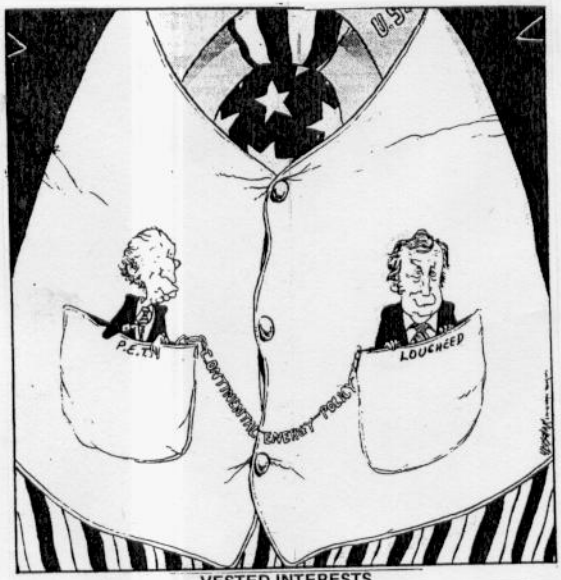

VESTED INTERESTS

Brian Emery
2365 Sperling Ave.,
Vancouver
August 21

(Found in 1978)

Thank you very much for your support to the Forward fund drive and to the paper in general. My name is Dale Ritch and I am a regular contributor to Forward as well as organizer of our NDP work in Toronto. I am an active executive member of the Dovercourt NDP constituency in the west end of the city of Toronto. I have read your letters with great interest and would be very much interested in exchanging some correspondence with you about our respective work in the NDP. The Ontarion NDP is opening up now with the possibility that Nickel Belt MPP Floyd Laughren might contest the party leadership on behalf of the left-wing of the party. Lewis' defeat in the recent provincial elections has created some-what of a crisis for the party establishment and made an opening for the left.

I am especially interested in the Open Caucus in the B.C. NDP which seems to me be be much further advanced than the left in the ONDP. Perhaps you could fill us inon these important developments through a regular correspondence. You have probably read Harry Kopyto's letter suggesting that you write something for Forward on the B.C. and Federal conventions. A regular correspondence could supplement any such contributions.

You will soon receive in the mail a complete dampling of all the pamphlets that the Socialist League has published including the ones you asked about. We are planning to publish the series of articles which appeared in Forward on Confederation and Quebec as a separate pamphlet. In the works as well is a pamphlet on the rise and fall of the Waffle based on another series of articles which appeared in Forward.

One of the major problems with the Forward, outside of funding, is circulation, so please don't hesitate to pass out the paper to anyone who might be interested. We will send you as many copies as can be usefully circulated. Another serious problem noted by you in a previous letter is the lack of detailed coverage of NDP and labor coverage outside of Ontario. We have had several contacts in the Vancouver area including Maurice Flood and Nick Shugalo but they havn't for various reasons been able to distribute or contribute to the paper on a consistent basis. Hopefully with your co-operation the paper can develop a real clued in presence in the B.C. NDP.

By the way I once was very active in the student movement here in Toronto, formerly President of the student council at York U. Please, I look forward to a mutually rewarding exchange of ideas and information.

Fraternally

Dale Ritch

New Democrat sues gov't over RCMP crimes

The Deputy Minister of Justice in Ottawa will be the main witness for the federal government in pre-trial hearings in a $500,000 law suit against the Canadian government arising out of the controversy concerning allegations of RCMP wrong-doing.

The slander action was initiated last winter by Ross Dowson, the executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action (LSA), an organization declared to be "subversive" by the RCMP and named as a main reason for the RCMP's investigation of the NDP-Waffle in the early 1970s.

Dowson's counsel, Harry Kopyto, announced that, "While we still await final confirmation from government lawyers that the Deputy Minister of Justice will be produced for pre-trial hearings, information we have obtained has led us to conclude that this individual is most knowledgable about the NDP-Waffle investigation by the RCMP."

Kopyto said the RCMP investigation was directed by "individuals at the ministerial and cabinet level", and that these individuals had full knowledge and control over RCMP activities within the NDP.

"We have already obtained independent confirmation that the defence of the suit is being conducted by politicians who appreciate that their pleas of ignorance concerning RCMP wrong-doings are likely to be contradicted as the full facts of the RCMP investigation come forth through pre-trial hearings."

The hearings are scheduled to commence Oct. 11.

In another development, four prominent US citizens have expressed support for the slander action of Dowson, who is currently vice-president of the Rosedale NDP constituency association in Toronto.

In a statement signed by pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock, Nobel prize winner Linus Pauling, well-known author Jessica Mitford, and M.I.T. linguistics professor Noam Chomsky, the four declared, "We believe that the charge of subversion has been used to justify intervention in the internal affairs and the harassment of such legal organizations as the New Democratic Party and the organized labour movement and we further believe that such activities threaten to whittle away at the democratic right to dissent in Canada."

In addition to international support, the suit has also won support from NDP Foreign Affairs critic Andrew Brewin and many other prominent Canadians including Cy Gonick, publisher of *Canadian Dimension*, John Harney, a federal NDP candidate in Ontario, Grace Hartman, president of CUPE, author Margaret Lawrence and poet Al Purdy.

For further information, contact Christine Judge, Administrative Secretary of the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, 50 Thorncliffe Avenue, Toronto M4K 1V5, telephone 466-1307 or Mr. Harry Kopyto, Mr. Dowson's counsel, 390 Bay Street, Suite 700, Toronto M5H 2Y2, telephone 862-7020.

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A PUBLICATION OF THE ALBERTA NDP

IL to SEPTEMBER, 1978

The Alberta Democrat

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Forward Editorial Board Discussion by Wayne Roberts

meet at Peake at noon

We have always had problems producing Forward, but in the past several months the burden has become so overpowering as to be demoralizing. I am offering the following comments to members of the editorial board to encourage other editorial board members to come prepared to discuss problems and solutions in a careful way at our next meeting. This is not a document, therefore, but merely a series of problems to think about.

Politically, we have had a problem of overall editorial policy associated with the transition from the Socialist League to Forward Group. We, as activists, have shifted our focus quite decisively, while Forward has drifted. We must now deal with some of these problems consciously and comprehensively.

The Socialist League attempted to intervene on a variety of areas but Forward Group collaborates almost exclusively on NDP work. A shift of this magnitude requires some rethinking for Forward on a variety of levels. We used to present the SL through notes on forums, etc., and now must find new ways to present ourselves as an organization with coherent views and which attempts to recruit. Consistent NDP work requires articles tuned into problems of a work area and oriented to people with whom we have a prospect of collaborating over a long period. It requires a paper which appears much more as

(1)

(2) | at one with the NDP milieu.

Organizationally we have also been adrift, not consciously re-adapting to the smaller membership of Forward Group. Thus, we produce the same product over a longer period of time, often two months. Those who meet deadlines suffer, first from their original rush, second, from having their original articles dated by the time of publication. We need to rethink production so that we can meet deadlines.

Here are some of my suggestions:

1. Make deadlines for two weeks after the ed. board, dead deadlines three weeks. After three weeks, we automatically proceed to other material. If we don't do this, we risk our relations with our typesetters and our conscientious writers. This is an absolute necessity, ~~a~~ one we have long talked about, one which requires other steps to allow it to be implemented.

2. Reduce original content to about 60% of an issue. We have always talked about "lifting", but we have seldom been satisfied with other journals' articles. So we have seldom lifted. We need instead to "present". The articles by John on the Acadians or the Sask Commonwealth are cases in point. A competent writer can do these quickly, while tailoring the articles to our needs. Furthermore, such articles make our paper legitimate as an

information outlet. In the future, the editor should be constantly on the lookout for articles that can be presented. We should bank any of them that are timeless. (An example is the Canadian Dimension article on Maritime underdevelopment). As well, we need a specialist to follow Australian, New Zealand and British left papers with a purpose of constantly "presenting" material on Labor Party developments in these countries. Such a policy saves us research time and increases our NDP-related coverage. I would suggest that either Harry Kopyto or Dale Ritch take on this assignment.

3. Encourage letters to the editor. Forward has often had a full page of letters, and often has ~~three~~ more. Many of the letters have been solicited. We have to consciously solicit letters of information and debate from our contacts. There is no reason why an organization with our roots in the NDP cannot have eight typed pages of letters each issue. This cuts down our writing tasks and opens up the paper. It allows people to identify with us, without giving us responsibility for them or ~~our~~ their line. Soliciting letters should become an integral part of our NDP work. Lengthier contributions should only be solicited after discussions with the editor.

nationalism

4. Develop a new editorial box. Our statement over the top of page two editorials should include our aim to turn the NDP to socialism. We should also consider a regular box, "what we stand for", which states our basic transitional demands.

5. Use bigger typeface. We are a cadre gathering paper, not a mass paper, but too many left NDPers have complained about the difficulty of reading Forward.

6. We need two columns: one on "Win the NDP to socialism", & one on socialism. "Win the NDP to socialism" should be an integral part of the Cross Country with the NDP page. It should deal with general problems of strategy, principle, etc as applied to building the NDP left. "So what's your alternative", or some such title, should regularly propagandize about socialism in general & take up the need for (as distinct from the means to) socialism. I would suggest that Gord be assigned to these columns, because he is qualified, and because it can be adapted to his schedule.

7. A core of people, who are known to be deadline meeters, can be assigned to news analyses (in the past, this has been Johnson Quebec, Dale on NDP, Ross on RCMP-Labor, etc.) Rose with

a tight schedule, or who are flexible writers, can be assigned to do presentations and/or assorted news developments.

These suggestions will not solve Forward's problems, but I think they can focus our energies on producing a more coherent, appealing, and regularly-appearing paper.

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

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Conflict over RCMP raises Watergate cry

by P. Kent

The cover-up of RCMP illegalities in which the government-appointed McDonald Commission has played a key part, has been partially exposed by the recent actions of the government itself. Just as the commission, which for some 14 months of plodding, on-again off-again, from public to secret hearings, and back again, was approaching its long-slated questioning of solicitors-general and senior political and state officials, the legal spokesmen of the RCMP and the government posed a new problem to the commission. The government, they claimed, and not the commissioners, would determine what evidence and testimony would be heard in public or heard in secret.

Coming on the eve of the mini federal elections Progressive Conservative leader Joe Clarke took advantage of the situation to break his party's silence on RCMP illegalities and denounce Trudeau as "acting like the Richard Nixon of the North". He threatened that should a PC government be elected next year it would conduct a second inquiry. On behalf of the strangely silent NDP parliamentary caucus Ed Broadbent, instead of exposing the cover-up, spoke in defence of the commission. To deny the commission its independent authority, he protested, would "completely undermine the commission's credibility..."

That word of infamy—WATERGATE—which up until now has only been uttered in private, with a wink and a cynical dig, has now begun to be voiced openly. The commission itself, in the course of Judge McDonald's 33-page-long reprimand of the government, referred to the 1974 Watergate case in which the U.S. Supreme Court, rejecting Nixon's claim to executive or cabinet privilege, ordered him to turn over the tapes of Oval office conversations.

The commission could not say less. Faced with Trudeau's words that it "should not have the right to tell the public what certain ministers and I said about the operations of the RCMP", the editors of the Toronto **Star** thought that the commission had no alternative but to resign. If it had not spoken out with strong words it would not have retained even a semblance of integrity.

Affirming that it will want to investigate whether the RCMPers who carried out illegal operations "were doing so upon the direction or with the consent or at least without the disapproval of a minister of the crown", the commission declared that "unless these inquiries are held in public they are unlikely to achieve their main purpose".

The purpose is not to doggedly pursue the truth and to see that justice is done. From the days of the demolished Keable Commissions' revelations of RCMP crimes until this day, no criminal charges have been laid. One self-confessed criminal, Inspecter Cobb has even been promoted to higher office. "Their main purpose", as the commission statement spelled out, is "namely that of restoring the confidence of the public in the integrity of our public life. And without this confidence no democracy can long survive."

All this does not mean that the commission has been challenging Government-RCMP lawyers' efforts to block the public presentation of evidence on the grounds of "national security" or "executive privilege", or that the commission will be really opening up its hearings. Quite the contrary. Trudeau himself, in explanation of his government's declaration of executive privilege if necessary but not necessarily executive privilege, gave unequivocal approval of the commission's conduct. "There is no case," he affirmed "where the government and the commission have not seen eye to eye in everything that has happened in front of the commission."

Judge McDonald warned Trudeau that by undermining the credibility of the commission he was diminishing the legitimacy of the government itself—its ability to assert that it rules with public consent. Nonetheless only weeks earlier the McDonald

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Stop branch plant closures!

by Jean Laplante

In one swoop, some 240 workers in St. Catharines were tossed into the ranks of the unemployed last month. Their jobs, their skills, their hard-established union Local 199 of the United Automobile Workers (CLC), their ability to sustain themselves and their families, wiped out by a decision of a corporation based in another country over which neither they nor any segment of the Canadian people, nor governing institutions in Canada, have even a figment of control.

The decision, with all its ominous implications for the workers and the community, was made with a stroke of a pen by the owners of Columbus McKinnon Limited Corporation of Tonawanda, U.S.A. They unilaterally gave the order that closed down and disassembled the manufacturing facilities in the St. Kitts plant, turning it into a warehousing operation for goods being manufactured in U.S. plants to service the Canadian market.

Simultaneously, in Oshawa, nearly 200 workers organized in a United Steelworkers (CLC) local were shut out of the Fittings Limited plant. The U.S. owners decided to close down their plumbing division there. These are only two incidents in what is an increasingly common phenomenon. During late July and August, while fewer job opportunities were being created, some 1,150 jobs just disappeared through such shutdowns and closures of U.S. corporate owned branch plant operations in Canada.

What to do in such a situation?

The Steelworkers, in a letter by District 6 Director Stewart Cooke, appealed to the Canadian government to take action against the Oshawa shutdown. "It is time to make employers open their books, justify layoffs, retrain people instead of disposing of them, or find them new jobs before exterminating their old ones."

But the Fittings Limited owners have decided that they have no interest whatever in their old employees, let alone in training others in the Oshawa area. They have closed down everything including their books, and pulled out beyond the jurisdiction of Canadian institutions—the union, and the government too, even if it were prepared to take some kind of drastic action. The minister of labor reported that after two meetings, company officials declared that their decision to close was irrevocable. As an institution for profit making in a "free enterprise" capitalist economy they decided to close up and pull out regardless of other consequences, thereby rendering Steel Director Cooke's propositions inoperative.

In the face of what the leaders of the now defunct St. Kitts UAW local scored as a "callous and irresponsible action on the part of a foreign corporation" the Canadian UAW leadership has appealed to Ottawa to impose stiffer tariffs on Columbus McKinnon products—on the hoists and chains that will be warehoused by a Canadian skeleton staff for sale to companies here. While it is highly doubtful, should continentalist Ottawa make a volte face and implement higher tariffs, that a Canadian-owned industry would spring up—what Canadian capitalist would not take advantage of the tariff to pass the costs along in higher prices on the goods ultimately paid for by Canadian consumers? Meanwhile the St. Kitts plant is idle, its equipment deteriorating or being dispersed and its labor force unemployed and scattering.

The continuing world-wide capitalist recession is having a brutal impact on the branch plant economy that capitalism has spawned in Canada. Its "privileged" position as an appendage of the powerful industrial plant of the U.S. corporate elite, based on resources extraction to feed that plant which is now itself in difficult circumstances, is revealing its all too negative aspects—its character as a semi-developed dependency with whole segments

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Why didn't NDP gain more from anti-Trudeau protest?

by Wayne Roberts

Opposition parties don't win elections, the pundits are fond of telling us, government parties lose them. Not a very dynamic description of the recent by-elections, but does it fit? And if it fits, what accounts for the lack of dynamism?

There can be no doubt that the re cent by-elections were a major defeat for the Trudeau government. The Liberal vote in contested seats dropped by over 100,000 from the last federal elections. Although the elections offered no hope of removing the Liberal government majority, voters in English-Canada have evidently lost any hope of ever improving the present government with a series of facelifts or cabinet shuffles; even the prestigious, cabinet-status "star" candidates fielded by Trudeau fell before the protest sweep.

A protest sweep it was, especially

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recovery. But why did protest voters not see through this replay of the classic two-party shell game?

Why, in the midst of an anti-government sweep and an economic slump which confirms all that socialists have said about the fundamental sickness of capitalism, was the NDP unable to do more than gain one seat and barely hold onto another bastion? The NDP's relative lack of success is particularly disappointing when the provincial elections in Saskatchewan confirm that voters are neither blindly voting out the "ins"; nor are they moving to the right.

In Saskatchewan, where the NDP was re-elected with greater margins than before, they stood for a clear issue. Once the Supreme Court ruling denied the province's right to control

continued on Page 6

Solidarity with the Postal Workers!

by the Editors

The 23,000 members of the Canadian Postal Workers Union have been beaten back to work. But they are by no means broken, although precisely that has been the aim of the post office administration, masterminded by the federal cabinet itself, for some years now. With the complete support of the loyal Progressive Conservative party opposition, and their joint Big Business sponsors, the government singled out the post office workers.

With them crushed, an opening would be made for a wide-ranging assault on all public service employees to establish this once again as an area of low wages, long hours and poor conditions.

And with that, the government's efforts to cutback and scale down the conditions won in years of struggle, primarily by the trade union movement, would take a savage leap. The government strategy was to be implemented by an all-out campaign promoted by the mass media to:

Isolate the postal workers. Make it difficult for the public, and particularly the rest of the organized labor movement, to identify with the postal workers. Make out that, if not the entire 23,000 members, at least the leaders are dupes of a bunch of potheads and lunatic fringe left-wingers. Issue official releases declaring that the union is out to win a work-week that will boil down to about 2 hours of actual working time on the job.

Split their ranks. With their contract expired back in June 1977, tie them up in negotiations and conciliation processes (the longest sittings of such a board in the history of Canadian labor) and completely deadend them by the time when they can legally strike, October 12, comes up. Then, declare that should they dare do what is completely legal, a law will be immediately passed that will make it illegal, and which if tested will bring down massive fines on every striker, officer, and on the union itself. If that dose of terror doesn't result in a devastating split in union ranks and start a massive back-

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across English Canada, but one which reflected demoralization and confusion. The popular vote for the Tories increased by less than 1000, for the NDP by less than 500. The big event was abstention; almost 150,000 who voted last time did not vote this time.

And who were they to vote for? The Tories offered lots of carping, but no alternative. Tory strategists worried whenever Clark spoke, fearful that public awareness of Liberal shortcomings would be directed to the absurdities of Clark. Clark ducked every possible issue, leading the **Globe** to define his image as "what you think you see is what you think you'll get." Nor could it be otherwise, when both Tories and Liberals represent the same capitalist class which itself has no strategy for economic recovery. But why did protest voters not see through this replay of the classic two-party shell game?

Why, in the midst of an anti-government sweep and an economic slump which confirms all that socialists have said about the fundamental sickness of capitalism, was the NDP unable to do more than gain one seat and barely hold onto another bastion? The NDP's relative lack of success is particularly disappointing when the provincial elections in Saskatchewan confirm that voters are neither blindly voting out the "ins"; nor are they moving to the right.

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Why didn't NDP gain?

continued from Page 1

resource revenues, the NDP leadership was forced to campaign on a crystal-clear issue and to defend the right to a public ownership strategy for Saskatchewan's economic growth and diversification. The issue carried resoundingly.

Why did this kind of polarization over clear principles not take place at the federal level? Why did individual NDP campaigns focus on the personality of candidates in an election where personality was considered irrelevant? Why did the campaign literature barely identify with the labor roots of the party? Why did it minimize party platform on such issues as plant closures or housing? Why did Broadbent, in one featured Toronto visit, call on government to act with the same capitalistic common sense of General Motors? Isn't that kind of capitalistic common sense—layoffs, speedups and parasitic government grant-snatching—part of the problem rather than the solution?

The NDP, quite simply, was not presented as a class alternative. Broadbent's criticisms of Trudeau as incompetent minimized the significance of Trudeau's pro-capitalist course and amounted to "running interference" for Clark. Certainly a criticism based on competence could not crystallize a distinct NDP base out of the general anti-government sentiment. Nor, more seriously, could it consolidate or educate the cadre of NDP campaign workers who are so essential to NDP success.

The labor movement, for its part, did not enter forcefully into the campaign. CLC President McDermott weakly promised that the CLC would play an active role in the next(!) elections. But in this one, little was done apart from the token donation of a few union staff to some campaigns. In one case the labor movement was reported to have intervened actively: in Newfoundland, where Fonse Faour won an upset victory with the active

Ed Broadbent

aid of the Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers union.

The election results resolved few issues of importance. The Conservatives remain shut out of Quebec. The Liberals, with their provincial machines smashed in all provinces but PEI, are unable to ride on the coattails of "national unity" in English Canada. Trudeau, who decided to face defeat on the installment plan, may or may not be forced to quit while he is behind. But who is to replace him and the role he played ten years ago as the saviour of the intellectually bankrupt Liberal Party, as a man capable of attracting the loyalties of the young, disaffected but naive searchers for a Just Society? The popular contempt for Trudeau now is only the personalized expression of the inability of the Liberal Party to play its historic brokerage role.

These dim prospects for the parties of capitalism should normally promise much for the NDP. And, indeed, past gains were maintained, new ones were achieved, most spectacularly in Saskatchewan, but also in Newfoundland and in the provincial elections in New Brunswick where the NDP raised its vote to a still-modest 6%.

But so far, the NDP leadership has shown itself incapable of addressing the confusion and demoralization of working people, or of preparing working people for the changes that are necessary.

In the period ahead, socialists in the NDP must fight to redirect the party's energies, away from Broadbent's pro-capitalistic common sense, and toward a working-class alternative to the political and economic crisis of Canadian capitalism and confederation. Such an alternative was expressed last summer by then-federal candidate Dan Heap, in his reply to Broadbent's industrial strategy. (This statement was reproduced in full in the last issue of **Forward**.)

It is not time to celebrate the holding of one traditional seat, and victory in one new area. It is time to see the real possibilities and where our party has fallen short. From there, we can begin to present the outlines of the socialist solution to the impasse of capitalist decline.

Is there any hope of Ottawa separating from the rest of Canada?

Thanks to supporters

by the Editors

The Forward Fund Drive is now over and the tallies indicate that we raised over $4,200 with some pledges still coming in—less than $800 short of our original goal. Despite organizational problems that impeded the drive from getting underway on time, we must say that overall we didn't do too badly. You gave us enough to publish most of next year's set of issues. We intend to make up for this year's deficit by a better organized drive next time.

The staff at **Forward** are grateful for all the contributions, large and small, which were sent in as a collective and individual commitment to build the voice of socialism in the NDP and the labor movement. In return, we will endeavour to meet our political responsibilities for our common task by regularizing **Forward** production and developing the kind of publishing consistency and discipline that will help build our subscription and circulation base.

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NDP fields slate in Toronto contest

by Dale Ritch

Big business control of municipal government in Metro Toronto is being strongly challenged by a large-scale entry of NDP and labor council forces into the city of Toronto and borough elections slated for November 13.

For the first time since the partial NDP slate in 1969, which saw only a handful of NDP candidates elected, the NDP is running a substantial number of candidates (about 45) for aldermanic and trustee posts across Metro.

Spearheading the campaign are 15 or 16 candidates who have been officially nominated to run on the NDP label. Two years ago, in the last municipal campaign, there was only one nominated candidate, Joe Pantalone in Ward 4.

The argument for a slate of official NDP candidates (often referred to as the "label position"), which was previously carried only by the Dovercourt NDP riding and a handful of Marxist-oriented NDP activists including supporters of **Forward**, has now found support from the majority in the Toronto Labor Council (minus the reactionary Building Trades and the Communist Party). The Labor Council has put up the money to publish the recently-adopted NDP municipal program and has encouraged the development of both an NDP caucus and an accountability structure based on NDP ward organizations.

The Labor Council has supported an NDP municipal program which calls for public land banking, a freeze on TTC fares as a step to free public transit, massive public and co-op housing with rent geared to income, more daycare services, and a shift of the tax burden from tenants and homeowners to corporations.

The entry of the labor council into municipal politics is primarily due to two factors. One lies with the failure of the "reform" movement to solve any of the underlying problems associated with corporate control of civic government. This is interrelated with the developing economic crisis and the crunch which will soon hit organized workers, especially those who work in the city. Support for the label position, therefore, reflects a growing awareness of the class nature of the problems confronting working people at the municipal level.

The main opposition within the NDP to the idea of running on the label has not come from the provincial caucus or office, which have largely maintained a wait-and-see attitude, but from a municipal reform organization called Reform Metro (RM). RM is an uneasy coalition of community-oriented NDPers like David and Liz White, who are generally in the majority, plus some independents such as Alderman Allan Sparrow, plus the Communist Party, which uses RM as a cover to attain a desperately needed electoral base. RM refuses to pose itself as a socialist or working class oriented movement, extolling instead the virtues of "independent reform" politics which transcend party and class politics.

The inherent thrust of RM, which is to form a distinct party structure at the municipal level in opposition to the NDP, has been weakened by the lack of credible candidates attached to RM, and by the growing strength of the NDP - Labor Council drive. RM's strength has been further dissipated by the fact that a large section of the reform movement, including mayoralty candidate John Sewell, will have nothing to do with it.

It should be stressed, however, that the debate between the "label" and "reform" philosophies is by no means settled. Endorsation, rather than nomination, is still legitimate in the eyes of most NDPers and the labor council. Moreover, there has been no move to field an NDP candidate for mayor.

Nevertheless, the dynamic is definitely in the "label" direction. The establishment of an NDP municipal caucus, which will have to be disciplined to be effective, the deepening economic crisis, and the growing desire among NDPers and labor council activists to work through accountable politicians, all point in the direction of an even more dynamic slate in 1980.

The link-up of class struggle forces in the party with those in the labor council has led not only to an increased prominence for the

Dan Heap leading figure in NDP slate

"label" position, but also to the emergence of the Metro Toronto Area Council (MTAC) as a dynamic riding association-controlled pole of influence in the party.

The growth of strong NDP ward organizations, active organizing in the working class community and the establishment of a viable NDP municipal caucus are developments which issue a profound challenge to the conception of the NDP as a purely electoral party. These moves will open up the eyes of NDPers to the real concerns of working people, and involve the party in day-to-day struggles. The end result will be an NDP which is strengthened and deeply rooted in the working class.

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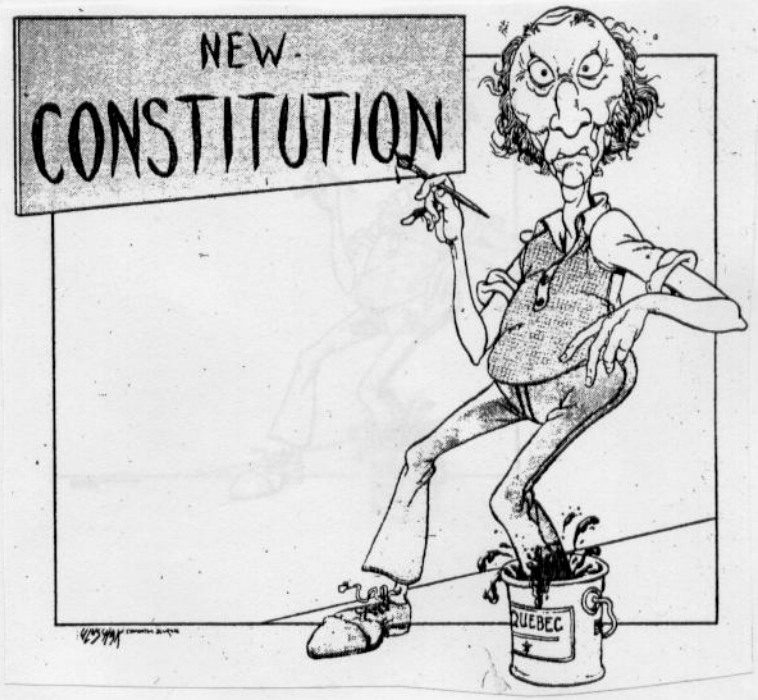
Trudeau's 'reforms' aim to undermine

Quebec referendum



by John Morgan

The spectre of Quebec's referendum on independence is haunting Ottawa—and to exorcise it, Prime Minister Trudeau has invoked a series of constitutional transformations of Confederation.

Trudeau is faced on the one hand with the powerful appeal of the Parti Québécois' call for political *sovereignty* with economic *association* as the basis of an independent Quebec, and on the other with a federal election at a time when English Canadians are apathetic toward the pro-federalist National Unity campaign. From sea to troubled sea, Canada is preoccupied with rising unemployment and the inflated cost of living. This is why the Prime Minister is trying for a constitutional *coup de théâtre*—to save his, and Confederation's skin.

Canadians have responded to Trudeau's constitutional plans and his call for "national identity through diversity" with indifference and a growing sense of futility. It is precisely against this identity void that the Québécois are reacting with their own powerful *indépendantisme*. As for English Canadians, they are justifiably blasé in the face of Trudeau's attempt to reinvigorate the undemocratic Senate by creating another body of 118 seats warmed by ward-heelers, appointed as a reward for services received or promised—to be called the "House of Federation". The motivation for the new "House" is the same as John A. MacDonald's for the Senate—it was necessary to protect minorities, MacDonald claimed, and the rich are always a minority. The New Democratic Party has the real answer to the problem of the Senate: abolish it, pure and simple.

For Trudeau, and the American and Canadian big business interests he serves, the Quebec issue has priority, since separation of its $50 billion a year economy from Canada means great commercial and financial uncertainty and loss of control—not to mention the almost certain extinction of the Liberal Party, the mainstay of capitalist politics in Canada.

When the constitutional "reforms" were leaked through the daily **La Presse** in Montreal, Trudeau—confirming their authenticity—explained that "we have not yet reached agreement on what Canada should be", and admitted it was the danger of Québec independence that motivated the need for a "renewal of Canadian confederation." Attempting to prove to the Québécois that confederation is still flexible and sensitive to their needs, he proposes a Charter of Basic Rights to protect the French language, and pledges "to recognize a permanent national commitment to the endurance and self-fulfilment of the Canadian French-speaking society centered in but not limited to Quebec."

For the Québécois, Trudeau has nudged the Queen aside slightly, making the governor-general Canada's Head of State whilst she is away in another country. Québec was to be mesmerized by the replacement of the Senate by the House of Federation, having the right to appoint half its quota of members. Furthermore, this new House would be empowered to make decisions on linguistic matters only on the basis of a "double majority"—supposedly the ultimate of protection for francophones. In any case, decisions taken here could only delay, not veto, legislation before the large anglophone majority of that other House, of Commons.

The catch is, that the Charter of Basic Rights speaks of protecting the rights of both francophones and anglophones equally, as if the English language is in danger in Quebec. It would seem that the PQ's Bill 101, which obliges all but native anglophones to send their children to French language schools, would be threatened. In fact, top Trudeau aide Marc Lalonde confirmed that Bill 101 must go, *chose certaine*. While francophones would therefore take several little steps forward, with better representation in the House of Federation and the Supreme Court, and with the right to French criminal trials throughout Canada—they would also be taking one large stride backwards with the emasculation of Bill 101.

The timing of Trudeau's constitutional changes is obviously aimed to nip the PQ's referendum campaign in the bud. Daily newspapers in English Canada are lending a hand. The Toronto **Globe & Mail** has branded Premier Lévesque's talk about a trade and monetary union between an independent Québec and Canada as an unworkable fraud to fool the Québécois into believing he does not really want separation, which he will spring upon them later. The **Globe's** denunciation of "creeping separatism" however offers no substantial criticism of the PQ's economic association proposals.

Attacking the feasibility of the other element, sovereignty, the **Star** published a gaggle of public opinion polls, one of which purportedly showed that 80% of Québécois do not want separation.

Undoubtedly, the majority of Québécois do not want to be isolated economically at a time when they consider political sovereignty the key issue. They will deal with the issue of economic sovereignty in due course. This fact was revealed by the responses to other questions put to the Québécois by the same pollsters, when no fewer than 84% answered that they were in favor of a change in confederation. Another huge majority—83%—were reported to believe that economic power in Québec is wielded by English Canadians. Again, 68% further believe that opportunities for French Canadians are lacking because of this anglophone domination of Quebec; as the pollsters summarized, "they believe they have both the ability and qualifications to take over leadership positions in business and industry but they feel they are being denied a fair chance..." As for those 80% of federalists... The federal government is implicated also: the polls reported that 40% of Québécois consider that Québec contributes more to confederation than it receives.

Polling the Québécois' pulse rate will likely be a major Ottawa preoccupation for some time to come. The most recent shows high support for both the Parti Québécois government and the French Language Charter (Bill 101). This is in spite of the fielding of moderate nationalist Liberal leader Claude Ryan on the political stage, starring in a routine of tweaking Ottawa's nose viciously in defence of Québec, while the Federal Liberals meekly turn the other cheek.

The PQ continues to be popular under the attack of Ottawa and Ryan as well as on the issue of sovereignty-association. "It would not be business as usual" at all, lectured Marc Lalonde, if Québec were independent, because Ottawa would cut off protective tariffs and end its shipments of textiles, shoes and furniture to Ontario and the rest of Canada. Lalonde was sharply rebuked by PQ Finance Minister Parizeau for conducting "economic terrorism" against Quebec. He pointed out that Ottawa's launching a tariff war between Canada and Quebec would be "suicidal", and added that studies on inter-provincial trade showed that Ontario would suffer as greatly as Quebec as a result. Quebec stood to lose 190,000 jobs in manufacturing, Ontario 185,000. No answer came from Lalonde; this was only the first of a series of 12 salvos being prepared by the Federal government; some would hit, some would miss, but the overall effect is calculated to drum the Québécois into line.

The PQ has charged that Ottawa is spending $50 million on its campaign against independence, including a $2 million contract with Walt Disney Productions to conduct a TV campaign. Inside Quebec, a new group of 134 corporations, the Business Council on National Issues, is waiting in the wings with funds for the federalist pre-referendum committee, at present in disarray as the Ryan forces take over control from incumbent Bourassa nominees. The Business Council is graced with such blue-chip leaders as Paul Desmarais (Power Corp.), J.T.T. Black (Molsons of Toronto), and Alfred Powis (Noranda Mines), and confirms a statement made by Environmental Minister Marcel Leger that the PQ is resigned to the fact that they will face almost unanimous opposition from the corporate world, including

→P2

Claude Ryan, Liberal straight man in Ottawa-Quebec routine.

most prominent francophones.

To maintain and build its mass support and secure at least a high vote in the referendum on independence, if not win it outright, the PQ is certain to continue its course of social legislation, already the most advanced in North America in many respects. It will legislate in favor of workers even as it moves against individual unions (holding down public sector wages and restricting strikes in "essential services") and individual unionists (sending Montreal transit union leaders to jail). Meanwhile, the militant Québec-based union federation, the CNTU, has endorsed the struggle for independence and criticized the PQ for not moving fast enough on the reforms it's promised.

The PQ government will give under corporate pressures, as when it allowed further use of English in the head offices of foreign corporations at a time when the Protestant Public Schools have finally decided to obey it. It will be under economic constraints as it was when it recently ended minimum wage raises tied to the cost of living (at $3.37 today, as compared to Ontario's $2.85 per hour.) It can do little to alleviate the province's 11.4% unemployment rate, but it is moving ahead with expropriation of the controlling interest of Asbestos Corp., the second largest in the industry in Québec. In many other areas it will realize significant gains affecting the standard of living of Québécois workers.

Consumer Affairs minister Lise Payette plans to go ahead with laws on job health and safety, and strong consumer protection legislation protecting buyers of used cars, as well as for car and appliance repairs. A Youth Protection Act is proposed which will safeguard the rights of delinquents, and abused children.

The PQ will move soon, as it must, to protect the province's limited farm lands, to restrict speculation and foreign ownership. They will do so with the support of the farmers themselves, as the Union des Producteurs Agricoles has called for a total ban on replacing farmland with housing.

In this way, the PQ government is laying the basis for wide support in its struggle to win sovereignty-association for Québec, the first concrete step the Québécois will take to gain full control of their destiny as a nation. Their example poses a challenge toward English Canadians—the question of what Quebec wants has been answered, and now the question of what English Canada is to make of its future is posed.

As Quebec moves towards independence, the bankruptcy of the old federal regime is exposed and the need for a new course, to be chartered under a new class, the workers, farmers and native peoples, is put before us with the same urgency as Quebec's referendum. A new form of decision-making is required —not Trudeau's appointed Houses, or his consultation with highly placed ministers—but a live and real representative body of the Canadian people, such as a constituent assembly would form today.

Such an assembly would be empowered to decide on new approaches toward human rights, native rights, provincial relations and other such constitutional measures. These forces alone, directly elected by the Canadian people to "repatriate", republicanize and forge a new constitution, can lay the basis for a settlement to the crisis of Confederation.

Quebec's drive toward independence is in turn driving English Canada forward to solve its problems. There is no future in Trudeau's constitutional reforms, though search he must in the interests of the class he represents. The working people of English Canada must answer him with their own solution—the Constituent Assembly, and call upon the NDP and trade union movement to set in motion discussions and meetings to get it off the ground.

Saskatchewan Commonwealth for a new Canadian constitution

Prime Minister Trudeau's constitutional proposals were branded as "cynical political maneuvering" in the July 26 editorial of the Saskatchewan NDP's **Commonwealth**. The editors declared: "The question of our constitution should be something of burning concern to each Canadian...In the history of the world, the framing of a nation's constitution stands as the single most important event for the nation. It is the keystone to the whole structure of the state."

The urgency of the question they see as coming from developments in Quebec: "A constitution is usually a first step in building a nation's heritage; with Canada there is some danger it may be our last step as one nation." In reality, Canada is composed of two founding nations, and the lack of that recognition, plus the legacy of dependency first upon British and then American imperialism, has resulted in the present situation of Canadians' constitutional and economic sense of alienation.

The **Commonwealth** deplores the fact that Saskatchewan Premier Blakeney, conceding that Canadians place the issue of constitutional reform a poor third after inflation and unemployment, rates it as 100th in importance, saying "it ain't gonna cut much ice in Bengough." The paper blames this apathy on Trudeau, and on his belief that Canada's greatest talent was compromise—compromises which seldom suit the parties involved but which never give offence or advantage.

"Worse," the editorial continues, "democratic socialists like Allan Blakeney and Ed Broadbent will be pulled into this miasma—forced to play this mean-minded game and haggle over trifles", "the half-way measures stirring the meagre souls of pin-striped technocrats...while leaving the great mass of ordinary folk flicking to another channel for relief."

But if Premier Blakeney dismissed the issue of constitutional reform last summer, three recent decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada have clubbed it back into his consciousness. The Federal court trod heavily on provincial jurisdiction over natural resources by disallowing Saskatchewan's efforts to tax and regulate the private exploitation of its oil and potash. Blakeney now says he will demand that changes be made in the constitution to stop further federal intervention. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the potash companies which refused to pay pro-rationing fees regulating production since 1975, in open defiance of the Saskatchewan government. It also ruled that the province must pay interest on money collected from its 1974 oil legislation, earlier declared unconstitutional. Also challenged are new oil taxes levied by the NDP government.

The **Commonwealth** editorial ends up with a clarion call for action for a new constitution—a "ringing declaration...in the best tradition of Tom Jefferson, Tom Paine, Karl Marx, the English Chartists or Rousseau..."

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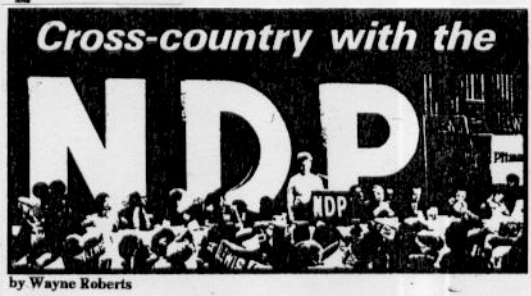
Cross-country with the NDP



by Wayne Roberts

Women's conference called

Grace Hartman, national president of CUPE, will be the keynote speaker at a mid-November conference of the Ontario NDP women's committee in Toronto. The theme of the conference is "the economic facts of life", and planners of the conference are expecting important debates to take place over questions of economic and political strategy for the women's rights movement.

Grace Hartman heads Canada's largest union.

The press release announcing the conference is itself a promising indication of some of the matters that will be discussed. "Never was there a greater need for women to make the economic facts of life **their** issue," the statement urges. "To expose the economic exploitation of women is to attack the oppression of women at its roots. It is to understand that as long as profits come before people, women will be treated as cheap labor, and under the present system, profits always come first.

....In adopting the theme of women and the economy for its annual meeting this year, the ONDP Women's Committee is underlining the uniqueness of the NDP's role in defending the interests of working women, as the struggle for equality and justice shifts to the marketplace. We are seeking to bring together women in the NDP and their sisters in the unions to discuss the effects of the economic crisis and plan a strategy for action....."

The conference is open to all NDP women, and will take place at the King Edward Hotel in Toronto on November 18 and 19. For information and registration forms, contact (416) 965-5948.

Industrial strategy debated

The debate provoked by Broadbent's industrial strategy, first presented last spring in anticipation of a federal election, has continued within the NDP. Dan Heap, then the nominated candidate for federal Spadina, and the campaign committee for Toronto Trinity riding launched the discussion with a sharp critique of Broadbent's strategy. This strategy, both groups maintained, repudiated the party's longstanding commitment to public ownership in favor of a series of limited reforms, none of which came to grips with the depths of the capitalist crisis.

In the course of the summer, several Ontario ridings responded to the initiatives of the Trinity and Spadina statements.

The Grey Bruce riding in southwestern Ontario agreed entirely with Heap's critique and insisted that "our life-long policies on social ownership...must not be swept under the carpet in an apparent attempt to muster votes". "Surely our message must be loud and clear", the statement continues. Among six items the riding association considered important were: "the ownership and production of minerals, forest products, transportation and communication must belong to the Canadian people, not foreign multi-nationals", and "the very basis of our policy must be public ownership for the benefit of all Canadians".

In eastern Ontario, an ad hoc committee of Kingston and the Islands riding association charged that "the backbone policies of the party have been conveniently underplayed and overlooked in a Madison Avenue type of campaign....We do not want a watered down, saccharin version of our intent but a real **alternative** presented to the voters".

The committee's statement also expressed the belief that "we must affirm our principles during the campaign so that, once elected, our members will know the mandate that has put them into office".

In preparation for the upcoming federal elections and next fall's NDP convention, it is important that NDPers from across the country add their protest to those that have already been made. In this way, the left can begin to organize and challenge the party leadership's right to dismiss our hard-won NDP planks on public ownership.

Future issues of **Forward** will try to keep our readers in touch with all developments on this crucial matter.

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Unity behind York strike

Revives student action

by Abie Weisfeld

Students and university workers together have won the first staff strike at York University. The strike by the York University Staff Association (YUSA) composed mainly of women clerical and technical workers, has set a precedent not only for other contract negotiations coming up at York, but for others throughout the province as well.

In effect this was not only a strike against the administration of one university but a strike against the Ontario Tory government and its cutbacks policy.

The university administration had refused to improve its 4% combined wage and benefits offer the second week of the strike and the student sit-in at the President's outer offices provided enough pressure to bring about a settlement ranging from 7.2% for the lowest paid, to 6% for the highest paid workers plus other benefits amounting to 1%.

The fledging new staff union, YUSA, a member of the Confederation of Canadian Unions, focused the attention of those fighting the cutbacks in social services—feminists and student activists—into a campaign that saw women's groups, students, and faculty participating in the picket lines, setting up anti-scab picket lines inside the university and taking over the President's offices.

The importance of the strike is obvious when one considers that women clerical workers are increasingly being drawn into the forefront of the union movement. YUSA is one of the new unions forged in the struggle against poor working conditions and sexism. As one indication of the women's rights impetus underlying the workers' militance, the workers insisted on a contract clause freeing them from menial "personal services" such as preparation of coffee. Women, whose importance to the university has been traditionally minimized by the designation "support staff", have been shown to be essential to the functioning of the university.

An important precedent of the strike is that those affected by loss of services, in this case the student population, was effectively organized to direct its anger against the administration which provoked the strike in the first place rather than against the clerical workers.

Currently York Students Against Cutbacks' candidate for Board of Governors, Abie Weisfeld [right] chairs sit-in meeting to which university president Macdonald came to receive petition of 2,500.

The sit-in, initiated by 250 students attending a rally of over 500 called by the Student Strike Support Committee, won its first victory when President MacDonald agreed to attend the meeting at the sit-in. There he was presented with a petition of 2,500 names calling on the administration to negotiate in good faith, plus some 100 personal letters from students at the bilingual Glendon campus, and a second and spontaneously-organized petition.

As the victory leaflet of the sit-in stated: "We've done it. Students have organized themselves to demand that their classes resume with a fair settlement for the staff who enable our institution to function." The much publicized argument that the student movement has died under the blows of pragmatism has been cleared away to reveal one of the clearest examples of student-worker solidarity outside of Quebec. The strike provided a base from which to relaunch the student campaign against the cutbacks in post-secondary education that have involved tuition fee hikes in the past. The fact that students are now concerned with personal economic issues is an indication of the potential breadth of the new movement rather than its death.

The forces behind the sit-in have been re-formed into the Student Anti-Cutbacks Committee, which will be working with the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students in their anti-cutback campaigns. In addition, the student activists can be expected to be elected to positions on the student government from which they will work with OFS and NUS to build a united mass student movement. "York has shown everyone how students can organize for their rights and win. Now, we can join up with students across the province and the country to stop the cutbacks presently being forced upon us," the leaflet argued.

The credibility which the sit-in was able to win was reflected in the letter to the student community written by the President: "whereas I do not condone the sit-in outside my office, I accept the sincerity of those who wanted to express their concern about the student as a victim in the strike. I am prepared, on behalf of the University, to consider the matter closed, if the sit-in terminates upon the ratification by the YUSA membership of the proposed contract."

With successful campaigns to halt cutbacks from being implemented on the university level a united campaign of students, staff and faculty can now organize on a broader basis than ever before to take on the Ontario Tories and the Federal Liberals, and preserve and extend our social services.

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ON THE LINE

by Calvin Johansson

Fake Bldg Trades autonomy

The U.S.-based leadership of the building and construction trades unions has finally delivered on its assurances that the Canadian membership will be granted the democratic rights spelled out by the Canadian Labor Congress guidelines on Canadian autonomy.

The guidelines include election of Canadian officers by Canadians, determination of policies dealing with Canadian affairs by elected Canadian officers and/or members, and authority to be vested in Canadian elected representatives to speak for the union in Canada. Following several of the internationals' blackmailing the CLC by withholding their dues, former CLC President Joe Morris claimed to have got the Washington leaderships to agree to conform to some of the essential elements of autonomy vigorously demanded by the delegates to the 1974 Vancouver convention.

While the Ironworkers and Painters continue to withhold their dues, this summer saw the staging of the first Canadian convention of the building and construction trades unions. There were 161 delegates assembled in Toronto in the name of the 400,000 Canadian members of the 15 building trades unions in this first of what are to be biennial conventions. But it was a travesty of democracy from start to finish—the rank and file's voice being heard only mutedly through the elected representatives of the ten provincial building trades councils whose attempts to get on the executive board were shouted down. Some 147 of the total 161 delegates were appointed by Robert Georgine, president of the Building Trades Departments of the AFL-CIO, who, accompanied by the general presidents of the 15 construction unions flew in from Washington to run the show.

Not only were almost all the delegates hand-picked but a month before they even assembled Georgine appointed the Canadian executive, along with other committees, including the convention resolutions committee. The executive is composed of the senior Canadian officers of each of the 15 international unions. Heading this executive of appointees is Ken Rose a vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical workers whose 4,200-member Toronto local is under an internationally-imposed trusteeship. Rose is a member of the Canadian Labor Congress executive council.

The U.S. brass' arrogant rejection of attempts to have the new Canadian board encompass the representatives of the Canadian provincial building trades councils was too much for Maurice Beaulieu of the Quebec Council who protested against finding "everything fixed." Cy Stairs of the BC and Yukon Council commented: "It might not have been so bad to have a little input from us down here in the dirt."

Georgine cynically admitted that the new rump executive board does not meet CLC autonomy guidelines, challenging that "If you feel they (the CLC) can do a job for you go to that forum." "Work within the system," he admonished the delegates. His assurances that "You've come a long way," were echoed by Rose's that "Rome wasn't built in a day."

The U.S. trade union bureaucracy's hands have been strengthened by the Ontario Tory government's enactment of province-wide bargaining in the construction industry and now the recent settlement whereby the construction bosses recognize the Carpenters as having jurisdiction over work now being performed by members of other unions—in particular dry-wall installation. The government recognizes the joint labor-management board, ensconced across the border in Washington, as having authority to arbitrate any dispute over jurisdiction in Canada.

The failure of the CLC executive council to bring its weight to bear against U.S. trusteeships such as have been imposed on the Toronto IBEW local, supported by one of its own members, its toleration of affiliates' defiance of the guidelines on Canadian autonomy, and affiliates' blackmail of the council by withholding dues with impunity, makes it party to the violation of the democratic rights of its affiliate membership.

VOTE ULC

UNITED LEFT COALITION

- ~ END THE SECRECY
- ~ STUDENT, FACULTY, STAFF, COMMUNITY CONTROL
- ~ ABOLISH THE BOARD

Association

DEC. 3 ELECT:

BOARD OF GOVERNORS CANDIDATES-

ROBERT KASHER (HOWLY)

HEMRAJ RAMDATH

You would think the skills and experience at York University would entitle the people who study, work and teach here to govern their own affair But though we live in what is supposed to be a democracy, the situation prevailing at York is best described as a corporate dictatorship.

York's ruling body, the Board of Governors, is overwhelmingly composed of powerful corporation executives who are little concerned with the problem facing the York community.

Indeed, the organization of this society, by and for corporate interests, is the cause of our problems. The Board meets in secrecy to make our decisions for us. Decisions which we only rarely know of, though they influence the very nature of our educational experience.

Under the York Act of 1965, all power to govern and manage York's affairs is vested in this Board. The President is responsible to both Board and Senate and though the Senate is consulted regarding the confirmation of his appointment, he is in essence appointed by the Board (as well as being a member of it). That he represents the corporate interests and social composition of the Board is clearly evident from the case of former president David Slater, who was fired from his position not at York, but in the head office of the Bank of Nova Scotia.

The Board has power over financial decisions, control over management policy and final say over faculty appointments and firings. It exercises responsibility through a committee structure meeting monthly in closed meetings. There are thirty-two seats; two filled by faculty elections, two by the students and the remaining twenty-eight appointed by the Board itself The Board is thus self-perpetuating and when vacancies occur they are generally filled by other members of the corporate elite. There is no representation by support staff members who maintain the universities operation and because of the chauvinism of corporate management there have been only five women on the Board in its entire history.

What this has meant for York students is that decisions on the plannin and carrying out of policy has shown little if any relationship to our desires and needs. The consequences have already been serious:

- -in 1974 plans for running student services on a profit basis were undertaken thus raising prices in a way that forces a hidden tuition increase on students,
- -they refused to go through with their initial promise to provide $400,000 for a daycare centre,
- -they secretly approved construction of a chapel at York against the clear wishes of the students as set forth in a previous referendum.

Likewise, these same corporate executives consistently approved

measures such as support for wage controls. Consequently these businessmen in their guise as governors at York directly threaten the newly certified GA in its right to negotiate a fair wage for graduate students. The same holds true for the YUFA and the YUSA.

The newly released Henderson report, solicited by the Tory government, calls for a 65% tuition increase or the layoff of 4,000 faculty as well as the virtual elimination of student grants. It dramatically confirms the United Left Coalition's (ULC) view that the corporate interests dominate education policy in opposition to the interests of students and society at large. Opponents of the ULC, even though they may be opposed to educational cutbacks, naivly ignore the corporate connection involved. They suggest that negotiations and moral suasion can bring a powerful big business dominated Board of Governors to act against its own interests. We wish them luck!

Since the Board is an undemocratic elitist body we propose that it be abolished. In its placewe advocate the formation of a governing council made of freely elected and recallable representatives from the student, faculty, staff and community. Big business would be excluded and the community's representatives would be those of working people who through their taxes for the most part pay directly for the bills of this university. Such a governing body would be a real step towards giving the people who work and study at York control over their lives. Indeed, only in a societyin which people possess their self-determination, will we be able to adequetly solve social problems.

In the very nature of its affiliations (see "The Corporate Connection" back page) the B. of G. contradicts our self-determination, not only as students but also as Canadians, opposed to US corporate domination in Canada and at York. Third world students, generally from the Carribean, have experienced the effects of the control exercised by the North American-based banks and US subsidiaries there. Representatives from these same banks and subsidiaries sit on "our" board. The underdeveloped state of the education system, the relatively depressed standard of living and the state of political repression there has forced these students to study at York which is at present relatively better off.

The fact is that first of all, post-secondary education in Ontario serves the interests of big business and secondly, these corporations are controlled directly from the US.

If working people's children are to be insured the right to a good education, if everyone is to be insured a decent income and jobs, if women students are to be guaranteed adequate daycare and fair treatment, if the rights of third world people, gay people, immigrants and other minorities are to be respected; this can come about only with the erection and maintence of bodies of real popular control.

For those of us at York, the B. of G. is the place to start.

THE CORPORATE CONNECTION

(sample of B. of G.'s affiliations)

1. Bertrand Gerstein: Chairman B.of G.: of Peoples's Credit Jewwellers, Koffler Stores Ltd., Primose Club, Island Yacht Club, Queen's Club, Bridal Path.
2. Henry Newton Jackman: of Empire Life Insurance Co., Canadian & Foreign Securities Co. Ltd., Victoria & Grey Trust Co., United Corporations Ltd., Provigo Inc., Electra Investments (Canada) Ltd., Algoma Central Railway Ltd. (foreign and canadian directorships)
3. Micheal Koerner: of Canadian Overseas Investments Ltd., Cullman Ventures Inc. (New York), Sheermess Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. (England), Huron Chemicals Ltd. (US and British directorships)
4. Allan Thomas Lambert: of Toronto Dominion Bank, Toronto Dominion Realty Co, Ltd., Adela Investment Co. of South America, Canadian International Paper co. (US), Westinghouse Canada Ltd., The Continental Insurance Co., Come Mines Ltd., Hudson Bay Mining & Smelting Co. Ltd. of S. Africa, IBM (Canada) Ltd., INCO Ltd., London Life Insurance Co., Union Carbide Canada Ltd., Canada Permanent Mortgage Corp.,Canada Permanent Trust Co., Dictaphone Corp. Ltd., The Dominion Insurance Corp., Midland International Banks Ltd., Rosedale Golf Club, Mont Royal Club, Granite Club. (US & N. American bank directorships , investing in Carribean, and directorships on South American and South African corporations)
5. Robert M. MacIntosh: of Bank of Nova Scotia, Empire Life Insurance Co., etc. (N. American bank directorship with holdings in Carribean)
6. Leonard G. Lumbers: of Noranda Manufacturing Co. Ltd., Noranda Mines, Wire Rope Industries of Canada, Budd Automotive of Canada, Abitibi Paper Co., Royal Bank of Canada, Canadian Wire and Cable Co. Ltd., Canadian Copper Refiners Ltd., Coulter Mfg. Co. Ltd., Wolverine Die Cast Corp., Dalkom Tool and Die Corp., Plasticast Ltd., Telecable and Wires Ltd., Granite Club, Rosedale Golf Club, Rideau Club, Old Forest Hill Rd. (US and banking directorships)
7. John Steward Proctor: of Mutual Life Assurance of Canada, Bank of Nova Scotia, General Accident Assurance Co. of Canada, Scottish Canadian Assurance Corp., Holborough Investments, R.L. Crain Ltd., International Chamber of Commerce, Granite Club, Rosedale Golf Club. (N. American banking investments in Carribean)

UNITED LEFT COALITION

HELP OUT IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

JOIN THE ULC

(Found in 1978) (R.D. editing - Ward 6 NDP)

on party label

So that our coming municipal election efforts profit from the clear public identity of our party's candidates with the party label in both the federal and provincial arena--Ward 6 NDP proposes that MTAC take a stand that all endorsed or ~~supported~~ nominated candidates clearly identify themselves as candidates of the NDP

-30-

Moved that the Ward 6 NDP call upon the federal executive to clearly dissociate our party from the Saskatchewan NDP pearlimanetary caucus' passage through the Saskatchewan house of a vicious anti-labor strike breaking act against the Sasktchewan hospital workers

and that we call upon the Saskatchewan party executive to immediately and publicly dissociate itself from the Saskatchewan NDP parliamentary caucus' action

and that we make known this position to the mass media at once. so that there is no mistaking our ~~party's position~~ the official position of our party during the current Saskatchewan provincial election campaign

-30-

Remove
Carried
Metro approved the motion be made available to the membership

CUPW

WHEREAS in October of 1978, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, with massive membership support, while on a legal strike against the Post Office were legislated back to work by the Federal Government under the provisions of Bill C-8, and

WHEREAS the government had refused to bargain in good faith, the union membership having worked without a contract for 19 months, there being tens of thousands of outstanding grievances, furthermore the government had substituted threats of back to work legislation in place of serious bargaining, in effect forcing the workers out on strike, and

WHEREAS the terms of the back to work legislation delivered by a government appointed mediator under the terms of compulsory arbitration were extremely unfavourable to the workers, and

WHEREAS nine leaders of CUPW were charged under section 115 of the Criminal Code and J.C. Parrot, President of CUPW was convicted and sentenced to three months in prison and 18 months probation, and

WHEREAS the Post Office has since continued a campaign of harassment against the union including suspensions and the firing of 10 postal workers for their role in the strike, and

WHEREAS the entire process constitutes a direct attack on the right to strike of all organized workers and is in particular the leading edge of a government offensive against public service workers;

BE IT RESOLVED (1) that the NDP call for the government to drop all outstanding charges against the CUPW leaders, and

(2) that the NDP call for the Post Office to end disciplinary action resulting from the strike against postal workers and to re-instate the 10 fired workers, and

take [illegible] measures to support Parrot's case

(3) that the NDP support CUPW's call for the POST OFFICE to be turned into a Crown Corporation, and

(4) that the NDP call for the Post Office to return to free collective bargaining in good faith with the CUPW

WHEREAS in spite of the establishment of Petrocan, multi-national energy corporations still overwhelmingly dominate and control energy resources, refining, distribution and marketing in Canada, and

WHEREAS NDP policy further calls for a publically owned energy corporation "which will engage in all aspects of the petroleum industry - exploration, development, transportation, refining and wholesale distribution, to an extent that will ensure it a position of dominance", and

WHEREAS Imperial Oil not only is the largest energy corporation in Canada, engaging in all facets of the industry mentioned, but also by its past and present behaviour has clearly acted in a manner detrimental to the interests of the Canadian working people;

BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP call for the immediate nationalization of Imperial Oil, and its assets to be incorporated into the operations of Petrocan, and

that the revenues to purchase Imperial Oil should come from a fund which is financed by a tariff to be exacted on the well-head production of all oil and natural gas in Canada, and

that the accumulated deferred taxes, depreciation allowances, damage to environmental and human resources and past profits be taken into account when determining the value of Imperial Oil's assets.

INCO

BE IT ALSO RESOLVED that the Federal NDP follow the lead of the Ontario Provincial NDP and call for the immediate nationalization of the mining and refining operations of INCO in Ontario and Manitoba, and

that the government grants and subsidies for overseas expansion, accumulated deferred taxes, depreciation allowances, damage to environmental and human resources and past profits to be taken into account when determining the value of INCO's assets.

Discussion in our bulletin — NDP ~~a~~ a reform party has no perspective - only Soc

SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

WHEREAS the private enterprise system has brought serious economic problems to Canada with record unemployment and inflation, and

WHEREAS the objectives and purposes of domestic and multi-national corporations are self-serving and fail to represent the interests of the wider community, and

WHEREAS it would be foolhardy to depend on these same corporations to develop an alternative industrial strategy given their inability or unwillingness to create full employment, and

WHEREAS governments have little bargaining power with which to counter the economic power of large corporations and to force them to act in a socially responsible manner,

BE IT RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party begin developing plans for an industrial strategy in which public ownership is the ~~major~~ tool to control the economy for people and also a means to introduce democratic and cooperative control of the work place;

Within discredited industrial democracy

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party conduct an educational campaign to promote an understanding of the reasons for increasing failures of the private enterprise economy and the ways in which public ownership of major corporations ~~is the only effective~~ tool to control the economy in the interests of ordinary people.

+ Coop are not important tools

Refer to preamble

Eminence of supporters

Arms Drive

WHEREAS despite endless conferences, agreements and pacts between the major powers to halt, control and even roll back the arms race that continues to use up an ever increasing proportion of the world's resources, and

WHEREAS in this age of the atomic bomb, the H Bomb and the Neutron Bomb, and of nuclear-powered submarines and of intercontinental ballistic missiles there is actually no defence against destruction that defies human comprehension, and

WHEREAS collosal sums of money for this military materiel continue to be spent while governments cut back allocations to essential social services,

BE IT RESOLVED that besides opposing the Canadian government's collosal expenditures on new fighter aircraft as our members of parliament have been doing, that the NDP step up its opposition to Canada's membership in such military alliances as NATO and NORAD and that our caucus vote against the military budget as a protest against Canada's participation in the arms drive and as a demonstration to be emulated in other parts of the globe.

Goyer can say this would remove only nuclear

7 to 6 ammendment approved

Goyer says in policy

Motion carried as ammended

NUCLEAR

WHEREAS the giant multinational corporate interests and their governments are firmly committed to a massive and costly program of nuclear power projects, largely financed from the public treasury, to meet the real and perceived energy crisis, and

WHEREAS these projects are being proceeded with without the problem of the safe disposal of perilous waste byproducts being resolved, and

WHEREAS there is ever-accumulating evidence that many of the projects already generating power are being operated without due and proper concern being demonstrated for the safety of those employed in them and the safety of the surrounding communities

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED :

(1) that the NDP firmly identify itself with the forces that are protesting this reckless development and support the call for (a) moratorium on all projects that are not on stream and for (b) a stringent safety program to be developed and rigorously applied to these nuclear power projects already in operation with their being shutdown in the case of the slightest difficulty until such time as they can be operated safely, and

(2) that in the light of the highly contradictory and strongly biased production-for-profit views of many of the so-called experts dealing with and deciding upon the operational safety of nuclear installations, that the NDP call upon the trade union movement, in particular those sectors that represent the organized workers of all the various skills and trades working in the field, to set up cross-union councils that will determine the conditions of safe operation of the nuclear power projects, and

(3) that the NDP call for a massive crash program to make safe those power projects now in operation - or if such safety cannot be achieved that the NDP call for the relegation back to the experimental stage of the development of power through the harnessing of nuclear energy and call for other sources to be rapidly experimented on and if feasible be developed.

CONFEDERATION

WHEREAS even at our founding convention the NDP recognized that Canadian Confederation was established by two nations - the French Canadian nation and the English Canadian nation - and that the French Canadians constitute a nation with a national identity and a national culture and frequently and legitimately use the word nation to describe French Canada itself, and

WHEREAS the ensuing years have witnessed an increasing perception on the part of the people of Quebec that they do constitute a nation and increasing efforts to win recognition of that fact, with all such propositions as bi-culturalism, bi-lingualism, special status and a renegotiated federalism failing to meet their aspirations, and

WHEREAS the projected referendum on sovereignty-association will be an occasion for the people of Quebec to declare their view to all,

BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP make it crystal clear that it stands firmly on the elementary democratic principle of the right of all nations to self-determination,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this commitment on the part of the NDP includes recognition of the Quebec people's right to establish a sovereign Quebec, should they decide to do so, and that we as a party in office on the provincial or federal plane are committed in advance to negotiate, to work towards the establishment of a new association which will be acceptable to both parties.

Ron B — for wording

9 for — ?

Criminal Code

WHEREAS Section 43 of the Canadian Criminal Code reads :
"Every school teacher, parent or person standing inthe place of a parent is justified in using force by way of correction towards a pupil or child, as the case may be, who is under his care, if the force does not exceed what is reasonable under the circumstances": and

WHEREAS this section of the Criminal Code reflects an archaic philosophy professing values of physical discipline for the purpose of "keeping children in their place", and the phrase "what is resonable under the circumstances" allows for such an openness of interpretation that it could be particularly harmful to children:

BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP urge the Law Reform Commission of Canada to recommend the removal of Section 43 from the Criminal Code of Canada.

We are opposed to force
for discipline & aggression
in a period when it is known to
coercion.

ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

Art Thay (copy)

Though its members may be few, the Socialist League has a significant role to play in the class struggle. Our organization has had considerable experience in the development and application of the transitional programme in Canada and the methodology of developing transitional demands in significant arenas of the political class struggle, including the New Democratic Party. In fact, we are the only organization which has a position of unconditional but critical support for the New Democratic Party. Secondly, we have the perspective of being part and parcel of the process which will create a mass vanguard party, expressed in our Leninist perspective and our democratic centralist structure. Without cadres trained to have a long-term perspective of political activity and an appreciation of the methods of building a revolutionary vanguard party, without the Bolshevik norms, standards of membership and atmosphere necessary to work effectively in different milieus and respond to various challenges in the unfolding class struggle, and without a programme constantly being adjusted and tested in real life, the Socialist League would have no justification for existence.

The Socialist League cannot at present be considered the nucleus of the future mass vanguard party. Its forces are too small and the connections which it has with the working class and movements for social change are too tenuous for it to assume this pretention. We are a small cadre organization adhering to the orthodox Trotskyist positions, though presently eclipsed by the numerically stronger, sectarian and ultra-left Forth International and its Canadian affiliate.

The current internal situation within the Socialist League is not healthy. The authority of branch decisions have been undermined by sporadic attendance on the part of some comrades. The ability to do political work in different areas has been injured by a lack of participation in political decision-making by comrades who are leading activists in such areas. Refusal by various comrades to attend membership meetings, a lack of financial commitment and an insufficiently serious attitude to sustaining the main expressions of the Socialist League's public face has created within the organization a category of individuals who would best be described as "sympathizers". Such a situation cannot be tolerated for any length of time without the organization itself beginning to suffer from the irreversible consequences.

While maintaining norms is important, the norms of the movement are not to be applied in an inflexible way without consideration to individual circumstances in which comrades may find themselves. A working class organization inevitably will need to retain within its ranks individuals with family and financial commitments. Thus, while minimum norms must be adhered to by all members, it goes without saying that individual levels of participation in the movements' work will largely be a result of individual circumstances and levels of understanding and commitment. These minimal norms include our well established criteria regarding branch meeting attendance and financial commitment.

Accordingly, the foremost threat to the Socialist League's integrity and growth comes from within itself. The members of the Socialist League who are not prepared to live up to these norms should consider alterations in their status.

The process of accumulating cadres is the most important one for a group which aspires to be a revolutionary vanguard party. Though an atmosphere conducive to serious political work is absolutely necessary in order to develop such a cadres, it is also equally important that the cadres itself be fully rooted in the theoretical heritage of Marxist thought. For some years, the level of educational activity of the branch has been abysmally low, on some occasions, approaching non-existence. This fact is most ironic in light of the nature of our work in this political period, which is largely educational. The real political questions that bother comrades must be brought into the movement, into the branch meeitngs and systematically structured into our political discussions. Major emphasis must be placed on educating new recruits on the theoretical roots of our practice. The basic Marxist and Leninist and Trotskyist writings must be related to the new and varied experiences of the class. The Socialist League must continuously generate an appreciation of political questions that arise daily using the method of Marxist thought. The main aim of our educational programme must be to arm comrades with a clear understanding of the political justification for the programme which we advance in external areas of work as well as the deep appreciation of the highly distinct nature of the organization itself. Cadres who have a full appreciation of the importance of accepting responsibility in both external areas of work as well as internal administrative areas, and who accept political responsibility for the entire programme of the movement as well as organizational responsibility for the well being of the movement as a whole cannot be produced except in a highly conscious fashion through a carefully planned and thought-out educational programme that is both relevant to current problems yet imbued with the historical perspective of Marxism.

In order that educational work will be properly emphasized and that our contact work and periphery may be consolidated, it is proposed that the frequency of branch meetings be reduced to once every two weeks with the alternating weeks being made available to an educational programme closely tied to the educational needs of the comrades and contacts. We believe such a change will both assist in the integration of our periphery, strengthen the educational work of the branch and is more consistent with the pace of political activity in which we are presently engaged.

In an organization as small as ours, it is necessary to maintain a supportive atmosphere in order that criticisms will be understood within a framework of a common understanding, and will deepen that common understanding. An atmosphere in the meetings which stymies independent expression of thought and differences will not serve to homogenize the level of understanding and commitment within the movement. On the contrary, political contributions may take on a personal character and may even be suppressed by such an atmosphere. Absolute and total freedom of political expression within the movement, and an atmosphere within our meetings which will make that principle a reality, are indispensible for the consolidation and homogenization of our movement.

However, in evaluating the past year from an organizational point of view, it must be acknowledged that the executive leadership of the branch has failed to perform its leadership functions. Two full time organizers have resigned within

this period in circumstances which weakened rather than strengthened the collective leadership within the branch. Within the executive, differences on fundamental questions expressed in words and acts had a tendency to paralyse the functioning of the executive as the political leadership of the branch. Because of the inability of the executive as an executive to become homogeneous for much of the last year the movement has tended to function in a state of organizational crisis. The organizer was frequently viewed as an administrative functionary, and without the collective assistance of the executive, was frequently reduced to playing this role. Because of the failure of the executive to knit a group of comrades behind the organizer to assist in the administrative work and participate in the political decision-making, certain important aspects of our organizational function, such as the educational programme, was not given the attention and detailed planning which it deserved. When leading executive comrades disagree with or abstain from functioning as a collective leadership within the branch, giving it direction and participating in the day-to-day political decisions, the branch itself will inevitably suffer.

One of the political questions which has arisen on the executive over the last year is the relevance of Trotskyism to the current Canadian political struggle. The term "Trotskyism" arose at a certain point in history and its main function was to distinquish a current of revolutionary socialists who aspired to form a world International which could challenge Stalinist hegemony within the working class movement. Thus, as a term, Trotskyism historically arose as a differentiation from and against Stalinism. However, with the Stalinist monolith in historical tatters and with leading figures in almost all the major European Communist parties disassociating themselves from the Soviet Union and, in some cases, identifying themselves historically with Trotskyism, the need for this distinction no longer exists. Thus, we should recognize that the change in the world situation has lessened the utility of using the term Trotskyism.

In addition, describing ourselves as a Trotskyist organization publically tends to lump us together with the Revolutionary Worker's League, the Trotskyist League and the Forth International, all of which are organizations characterized by sectarianism and ultra-leftism to one extent or another. In New Democratic Party work, and in work in other areas as well, such an identification of our organization with these other organizations is a serious block to integration. We should consciously begin to substitute more simple and relevant terms, such as revolutionary socialism, to describe our politics to contacts and others with whom we work in external milieus and in Forward.

This recommendation, however, should not be interpreted as a turn away form the basic ideas of Marxism, Leninism and Trotskyism, including the heritage we have gained through the League for Socialist Action and the collective experience of the Forth International under Trotsky's leadership and thereafter, including the transitional programme and all the fundamental principles of Trotskyism as an historical tendency.

Though our small size and the nature of our work is such that we presently have great flexibility in terms of posing ourselves in the milieus where we do our political work, there is no reason at present for us to abandon our public face, especially in so far as educational work and circulation of the paper, Forward, are concerned. It is in fact the norm for an organization which seeks to attract revolutionary socialist with a long-term perspective of political activity to have some form of public face. There are clear advantages to having a publically accessible headquarters and a political bookstore that can sustain itself financially. The Socialist League should affirm its commitment to sustaining these two aspects of the organizational operation. They are essential ingredients for growth.

Our propagandistic work takes on special significance in this period. Such work is mainly directed through our paper which is the sine qua non for us. We can emphasize this task of our movement by adopting the name "Forward Supporters" or "Forward Readers". Such a change could assist us in certain sensitive areas of work such as the New Democratic Party and it would also serve to promote the circulation of Forward on a more consistent basis and to create a sentiment of recognition and support for the paper's contents.

No political tendency, milieu or current of political thought presently exists which would offer us major opportunities of growth through a process of affiliation, unification or entry. The Socialist League cannot afford a high organizational profile despite the lack of such opportunities for our growth will inevitably involve fusion with other political tendencies. However, though potentially significant connections are presently available to us in the Canadian nationalist milieu, it is obvious that our interaction with such groups will be on a propagandistic and journalistic level for some time.

Though the term "Trotskyism" is rooted in past historical experience, its relevance today must be defined by positions which Trotskyists hold on current political questions. Forward represents the concrete application and exposition of the transitional programme which our tendency has kept alive throughout the decades. However, what distinquishes ourselves from others calling themselves Trotskyists more succinctly and clearly than anything else, is the perspective which the Socialist League holds for the New Democratic Party. Ours is the only tendency which presently has a long-term, non-split, perspective of doing fraction work within the New Democratic Party. We reaffirm without question that the most politically advanced and conscious elements of the working class can be found in their bulk at present within the New Democratic Party or within trade unions affiliated with the New Democratic Party. Thus, our future growth and existence is organically tied to maintaining and developing roots in this milieu within the framework of the perspective outlined above. Though others who call themselves Trotskyists might orient to the New Democratic Party in order to carry on smash-and-grab operations or to castigate the membership for forgetting that historically, social democracy will sell them out, the purpose of our work is of a different nature.

The New Democratic Party continues to offer to the Socialist League the most significant arena for long-range political work. When working in this milieu, often dominated by petti-bourgeois, reformist and factional politics, it is most important to maintain our Bolshevik perspective. However, in order to root ourselves in the Party and in the riding associations, most if not all comrades, must be members and activists in the constitutency associations of the New Democratic Party and accept executive responsibility in secondary positions. Since this situation presently exists to a significant extent, and since there is no basis for a policy of "entrism sui generis" into the New Democratic Party at present or in the foreseeable future, there is no reason which would justify eliminating the public face of the Socialist League.

(Found in 1979)

- The Friday night class is holding its 3rd session Feb 9 — 47 Vermont — Wayne Roberts coordinator

("Canada & the world" — ed.)

- Forward Groups is meeting this Sunday Feb 11 8 p.m. Harry Kopyto fresh from examining RCMP Commissioner Sexsmith is giving the edit on Marxism + the Law

- February issue of Forward will be off the press by the time you get this — features an article by Penner etc etc with this out of the way more of us should be able to do a little in the Pantalone Ward 4 campaign — 533A Gladstone S of Bloor — paper very useful there

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

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(35) Feb 1978

Shah dumped, fight goes on

by Harry Kopyto

Unable to stop Iran from being engulfed in civil war, the Shah has fled his country. Yet even his ignominious retreat, which was celebrated by millions in the streets of Iran and may well end the longest reigning monarchy in existence (2,500 years) may not be sufficient to stop the toppling of the Iranian government of Premier Shapour Bakhtiar, the leader of the capitalist reformist opposition coalition, the National Front, whom the Shah installed in power in a last ditch effort to preserve Iran as a neo-colonial U.S. client state.

Though the common wisdom in the Western press has been to picture the Iranian upsurge as a reaction against the Shah's attempt to modernize Iran along Western lines too rapidly, the key political demand of the movement has been for a democratic republic and an end to domination by U.S. imperialism, which installed the Shah into the Peacock throne through a coup d'état in the first place.

The social reality underlying the protest points to other causes for the upsurge as well. Agrarian "reform" has barely touched the vast private land holdings. However, it has resulted in a massive exodus of impoverished peasants to the urban areas. A massive housing crisis, an inflation rate of 50% a year and unemployment of 5 million working people out of a total population of 34 million affect the new urban poor in the shanty towns. Food production has declined so drastically that Iran has to import 50% of its staples. Yet, one percent of the Iranian population still own 80% of its private wealth. Personal fortunes have been handed out by the Shah to members of his family and he himself is reputed to have accumulated an estimated 20 billion dollars in personal holdings as a result of opium production and the graft and nepotism within government circles. An additional twenty billion dollars in oil revenues have been channeled over the last five years into arms purchases used to repress the population. (Half of U.S. foreign arms sales last year were to Iran.)

Neo-colonial domination of the 22-billion-dollar-a-year oil industry and numerous other industries, largely by or in the interest of U.S. capital, has resulted in the Iranian state ser-

continued on page 7

"We may be shipping a little water, but we're still right on course!"

Forging united front with postal workers

A Common Front of the 23,000 embattled members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, the Public Service Alliance, and the Canadian Union of Public Employees—a fighting alliance of workers in the public sector—is being forged across the country.

A Toronto rally of some 400-500, organized on January 27 to specifically protest the firing of five local stewards and the suspension of 23 members, was the opening round. The meeting took place only days after Postmaster-General Lamontagne declared as to how the government sees his department "could end postal woes"—by firing 500 inside workers. Among those expressing their solidarity from the platform were Sam Fox, president of the Metro Toronto Labor Council. Dave Patterson, president of the striking Sudbury Steelworkers Union, Dan Heap, NDP alderman, Ward 6, and various leaders and activists of CUPW, including National President Jean-Claude Parrot.

A leaflet circulated by the harassed Toronto local of CUPW projected and expressed the tone and objective of the meeting. "This rally is but a beginning step therefore and should be understood as a building action, not an end in itself..."

The postal workers are being made the scapegoats for the breakdown of the postal system itself. Auditor-General J.J. Macdonell chided department managers, in his most recent report, for purchasing $153 million worth of sorting machinery that failed to achieve cost savings because of a lack of planning on the part of bureaucrats. Ronald Ritchie in his special postal report to the Conservative Party conceded that "human relations skills and training in them seem to be scarcer than they should be among supervisors and management in the postal service." Some 54,000 grievances were filed by CUPW members in the past two years—80% of those adjudicated were decided in favor of the union.

"(It's the) Postal Workers today," the leaflet challenges, but "who will be it be tomorrow? With the whole working class under attack, and the brunt of this attack being borne by Postal Workers and civil servants at this point, it will be necessary to form a common front of workers in the public sector to fight all back-to-work legislation, the introduction of all bills restricting the bargaining rights of this sector, such as Bill C-22 which in effect legislates permanent wage controls in the public sector.

"The industrial unions, the whole of the labor movement, must support this kind of struggle and development to the fullest. Going **public**, taking our struggle to the streets and building unity **in action** will be increasingly necessary if we are to defeat the general attack being unleashed by the parties of big business upon us. ...We must renew the struggle, we must quicken the pace of our counter-attack, we must as individuals fight the apathy and criticism of some and renew our commitment to be involved, to fight back... Solidarity in action must be our watchword... An injury to one is an injury to all. United we stand, divided we fall."

February 14 has been declared MP day, when a concentrated campaign will be directed at parliament to demand that the federal government drop the charges against CUPW leaders and stop the victimization of CUPW members.

CUPW leader Jean-Claude Parrot faces trial and possibly jail in March over the "illegal" postal strike.

Libs-Tories on the rocks, without industrial strategy

by Wayne Roberts

It's hard to read about anything to do with Canada today without coming across words like "crisis."

"Canada is passing through a period of travail which is more than a crisis of development, it is a crisis of existence itself," the Task Force on National Unity recently concluded. This passage could be lifted wholesale from almost any of the studies recently done on the Canadian economy. "The very foundations of industrial Canada are threatened," claim the authors of a recent Science Council of Canada publication. The manufacturing sector is "not only weak but in a state of fundamental structural disequilibrium," claims a statement of the Ontario government to federal tariff negotiators. The business-backed Conference Board of Canada uses more technical language, but can only foresee for 1979 "another year of sub-potential growth, sustained inflation and high unemployment." Among the population at large, fully 54% of Canadians think that the economic situation will worsen.

These assessments point above all to a crisis of policy. Many feel that that crisis of constitutional relations cannot be solved without solving the crisis of the economy. The government crisis is that it cannot solve either.

The facts are there for all to see. A dollar which dips to new lows almost weekly. A balance of payments deficit of three billion dollars. Trade deficits in 18 of 19 high technology product groups. A level of research so low that the country may lose the capacity to even train its own scientists in areas of high expertise. U.S. "investment' (disinvestment, as it is now called), which saw 440 million dollars leave the country to pay off U.S. coupon clippers in 1977. Unemployment, 57% of which can be traced to layoffs. A manufacturing sector where 280 of 500 top corporations are U.S. subsidiaries, and which has suffered a major decline in job producing and export capability over the last decade (4 and 5% respectively). A federal budget which is expected to produce 112,000 fewer jobs than in 1978.

Even the business elite, which netted a 31.9% increase in after-tax profits for the last quarter of 1978 over that of the last quarter in 1977, cannot ignore the scope and profundity of the paralysis gripping the Canadian economy. This class has built its fortunes for centuries by fast-trading in furs, timber, wheat and nickel, and has structured itself into dependent relations with either Britain or the U.S. It's not hard to think of the Bay when thinking about how it all got started, and hard not to think of

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RCMP subversive list circulates through top government circles

by Jean Laplante

The claim that the rot in Canadian society already laid bare by the revelations of RCMP violations of civil rights, is deeper and wider than even that which Watergate revealed about the CIA's and the FBI's violations of U.S. civil rights and U.S. society, is being borne out by continuing developments.

You are mistaken if you think that the revelations two years ago of Solicitor-General Jean Pierre Goyer's black-list of 21 members of a so-called "extra parliamentary opposition" within the public service, has brought, if not an end to such scandalous violations of civil rights at such high and "responsible" government levels, at least some caution or restraint.

• This month Claude Henault of the **Montreal Gazette** revealed the existence of **The Whizzer**, a newsletter that circulates at ministerial and deputy ministerial levels in Ottawa. According to Henault the final authority over its contents is no less a person than Michael Pitfield, clerk of the Privy Council and secretary to the cabinet. Robin Bourne, Goyer's

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ganizations. It is a list that oper-es on a running basis, with the med persons and organization ving no knowledge of it, and there- having no possibility of challeng- it, of defending themselves ainst it even from any resulting privation of services from govern-

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choice to lead the government's security service, with a direct line to RCMP top circles, is the working editor.

Robert Rae (NDP-MP, Broadview) queried Solicitor-General Blais in the commons on January 25 about **The Whizzer** which, it now appears, has been coming out on a regular weekly basis since 1976. Rae quoted a statement by Mr. Bourne that groups are mentioned in **The Whizzer** "if we felt their intentions were contrary to our interests," and that "most peace organizations, if they are labelled as such are manipulated by the Soviets." Blais affirmed everthing that Rae knew and brought to his attention. while he said that the views expressed in this bulletin circulated in the highest levels of government by the head of the government's security service, were Mr. Bourne's "personal views," he described the list as being "most helpful."

On the basis of information in **The Whizzer**, according to a CP January 25 dispatch, this month a federal cabinet minister refused to meet representatives of a group on the advice that it had been infiltrated by Communists. A brief from another organization received by a minister had attached to it a note: "this group is a foreign infiltrated group. It may, however, not even be aware that it has been taken over."

Thus we have what is nothing but a secret black list—a list drawn up in secret and used in secret against alleged subversives and subversive

Gov't subversive list

continued from page 1

and which are supposedly available for their utilization.

• The Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, which encompasses all unions affiliated to the CLC in Saskatchewan and endorses the NDP as its political arm, continues to be under surveillance by the RCMP. Obviously previous revelations of RCMP harassment and intervention into the internal affairs of such unions as CUPE, where its agents consciously sought to change the union's leadership, have not caused the RCMP to pull back and keep out of the internal affairs of the union movement. The federation will be fully documenting this at a coming hearing of the McDonald Commission.

• As for the Royal Commission on Confidentiality of Health Records under Mr. Justice Horace Krever—instead of opening up the files of the RCMP, presumably the property of public, to disclose the names of its informants and of its officers and the validity of the allegations that they used information from Health Records in their campaign of dirty tricks against dissidents, its investigation revolved around articles that appeared in the **Globe and Mail** and the sources of the author of the article.

It is an established fact that the RCMP, contrary to law, since 1972 has had access to income tax information and unlimited access to Unemployment Insurance Office SIN records. It is also an established policy of the RCMP to use information at its disposal in such a way as to create dissension, to disrupt and demoralize radical groups.

If the Krever Commission wished to investigate this matter, rather than harass a newspaperman for his sources, it should have investigated evidence presented to the public hearing of the McDonald Commission on January 18, 1978 about a letter that was surreptitiously circulated at a Young Socialists convention in December 1972.

Found on the delegates' chairs the FBI, as part of a total $40 million a new session, the letter spread the information that a leader of that organization had "sought psychiatric aid." Such information would appear in Health Records, the Confidentiality of which is the Commission's concern. Who has been proven to have had access to such records and known to have an active policy of using such information to harass those they label "subversive?" Instead of the RCMP being investigated we have the press reporting that the Ontario Court of Appeal, when asked for a ruling, reserved judgment on whether the RCMP must disclose the names of its informers to the commission. The RCMP's counsel argued that police informer privilege is absolute.

The commission's lawyer, following Justice Krever's withdrawing of an order that the **Globe** reporter appear to give evidence, made a sweeping and totally unwarranted clearance of the RCMP in his statement that "I can only conclude that the obtaining of medical information by the RCMP by the use of paid informants and its use for disruptive purposes, either in Ontario or elsewhere, just did not take place."

In the meantime, while the RCMP tries to score points, the McDonald Commission, appointed 17 months ago when the heat about RCMP crimes was at its peak, continues to dissipate that heat with its in-camera secret hearings.

That is why it is important that the Socialist Rights Defence Fund campaign to win support for the slander suit initiated by Ross Dowson against the RCMP should have the strongest backing. It already has the support of such internationally known figures as Linus Pauling, Naom Chomsky, Nancy Mitford, Dr. Spock, and such prominent Canadians as Margaret Lawrence, Al Purdy, Andrew Brewin, Sam Fox, and others.

The case is only now moving towards the courts, with Dowson's lawyer Harry Kopyto examining RCMP Commissioner M. Sexsmith on February 8. Further information on the SRDF can be obtained from administrative secretary Chris Judge, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5.

forward #35
Editor: Wayne Roberts

BC NDP condemns nuclear development

by Brian Emery

"When Premier Blakeney talked about how uranium development would bring 'economic stability' and 'improve our quality of life,' I felt pity for the man who leads a party and a government which seems to have become more concerned with money and progress than human life and values."

With those words, Dan Hunt, an activist in the Saskatchewan Young New Democrats and the editor of the national YND newspaper, **Candor**, summed up the anger within large sections of the Saskatchewan party over the provincial government's decision to allow Amok, a French corporation, to go ahead with nuclear development in northern Saskatchewan.

But the anger wasn't limited to the NDP. In a full-page ad in the **Commonwealth**, 37 organizations ranging from native groups and trade unions to CUSO and the Student Christian Movement charged Allen Blakeney's government with ignoring oppostition concerns, and with rushing through the Bayda Inquiry. The inquiry reported that it saw no reasons to block Amok's development plans.

In the period immediately following the release of the report, Blakeney and his cabinet colleagues persuaded the Saskatchewan party to accept the "findings" of the inquiry. Nevertheless, feelings ran high amongst party activists about Blakeney's betrayal, and party strategists were forced to keep the uranium issue out of the election immediately following, at the risk of losing substantial support among traditional constituencies.

With the re-election of the NDP, the struggle continues. Party activists and others continue their activity to discredit the Bayda Inquiry and to force Blakeney to take a second look.

Given Blakeney and the Saskatchewan NDP causus' position, it's refreshing to see that other influential NDP sections have taken other stands.

In British Columbia, both the party and leader Dave Barrett have come out strongly against uranium mining. Party activists have been the backbone of the new anti-nuclear movement in the province.

Plans to test-drill for uranium in the Genelle-China Creek area have been strongly opposed by NDP activists. Drilling has also taken place in other parts of the Kootenays.

And, in the central interior, it has been the rank and file of the NDP which has built community opposition to the Birch Island mining project north of Kamloops.

These developments are extremely positive. New Democrats are being mobilized in greater numbers than ever, behind an issue that has the potential to rival the anti-war actions of the late sixties and early seventies.

The nuclear movement is rapidly developing on an international scale. In Europe, the Middle East and North America, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators have protested the hazards inherent in nuclear development. Events such as last year's occupation in Seabrook, New Hampshire are inspiring further actions.

To its credit, the NDP (outside Saskatchewan) has been prominent in raising the disturbing questions about the private and public nuclear industry's plans.

But much more can be done, by NDPers and non-party members alike. Public education must continue about the dangers involved. And, Amok and the Saskatchewan government must be blocked in their efforts to turn northern Saskatchewan into the uranium capital of Canada.

Better active today than radioactive tomorrow!

Nuclear split

The Committee on Nuclear Issues, set up by the federal government to "monitor" the nuclear debate, has lost its second panelist, and with him, its last shred of legitimacy as a non-partisan investigation.

Former co-chairman Pierre Dansereau resigned last year charging that the committee was stacked with committed nuclear advocates. David Brooks, another prominent energy expert, resigned this January, accusing fellow panelists of "dereliction of reponsibility." The federal committee, he charged, is overloaded with nuclear advocates and has regularly avoided public hearings where controversy and debate would jeopardize its predetermined views.

"And he's absolutely harmless, as long as you push the right buttons."

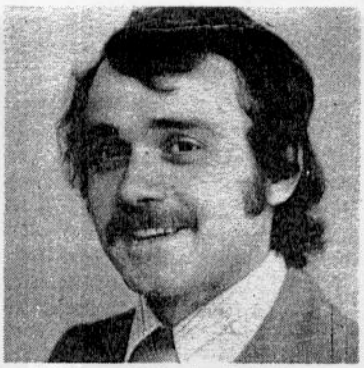
NDP Toronto election gains raise far-ranging challenge

forward
#35 Feb 1979

by Dale Ritch

The NDP achieved a modest breakthrough with its electoral effort in the November Toronto municipal elections. A total of 50 NDP candidates, 13 nominated (label) and 37 endorsed, ran the first serious NDP slate since 1969. Eight out of the 13 nominated candidates were elected including aldermen in Etobicoke—Dave Robertson, Howard Moscoe and Mike Foster in North York, Wally Majesky in Scarborough, Dan Heap in Toronto, and Toronto trustees Tony Silipo, George Martel and Bob Spencer. Another 20 of the endorsed candidates were elected across Metro. NDP candidates secured a solid beach-head on the Toronto City Council, and are in control of the Toronto School Board with a near-majority.

The election results were a source of satisfaction to those NDP activists who had supported the idea that the NDP should get more involved in municipal politics, and particularly to those activists who had pushed the idea of running openly on the NDP label, thus offering a clear, class alternative to voters at the municipal level. In fact, the nominated NDP candidates elected a far higher percentage of their numbers than either the endorsed or "closet" NDP candidates or the candidates of the Communist Party backed multi-class reform coalition, Reform Metro (RM), which managed to elect only 12 out of 28 candidates who ran across Metro (and 8 of the 12 are also NDP members).



NDP candidate Joe Pantalone

By proving that label candidates could get elected, indeed that running on the label was an electoral asset in many areas, one of the last major barriers to a full NDP slate in 1980 was stripped away. Other obstacles however still remain.

One of these, Reform Metro, was weakened somewhat but not by any means extinguished by the election results. In Ward 6, Toronto, RM candidate Allan Sparrow managed to take the top seat from NDP label candidate Dan Heap. This campaign, which started off in a spirit of co-operation between the RM and NDP slates, turned increasingly into a competition for the top spot (along with the important Metro seat that goes with it) and reached a climax with the Sparrow slate putting out a vote-ad card that blatantly plumped for RM at the expense of the NDP. In another important encounter, NDP nominated challenger, Mike Foster in Ward 4, North York knocked off RM encumbent, Marilyn Meshberg. The bitterness engendered by these two campaigns is an indication that there isn't room in Metro for two competing municipal parties on the left, and that the decisive showdown between RM and the elements in the NDP pushing the label position isn't far away.

An important advantage to the forces supporting the label position is the fact that they have the support of the Metro Toronto Labour council. Labour Council public relations officer, Wally Majesky, was elected as a nominated alderman in Scarborough with the full backing of the council. The Labour Council is also pushing for the establishment of permanent NDP ward organizations, in order for the NDP to organize in the community on an ongoing basis and to establish an accountability mechanism for elected aldermen and trustees.

Another problem for the label forces a much thornier one than RM, is presented by the election to Mayor of John Sewell. Sewell, who is not a socialist or an NDP member, nonetheless was strongly supported by most of the NDP membership and the labor movement, including many of the forces who support the "label" position. However, Sewell's subsequent isolation on the Toronto council with the immediate takeover of the key executive committee by Liberal-Tory elements is a good lesson that only the election of an NDP majority on City Council can guarantee that working class interests will be defended at City Hall.

NDP out for left majority

An enthusiastic rally of 150 New Democrats launched the Ward 4 aldermanic by-election campaign of label-candidate, Joe Pantalone. Pantalone, the first aldermanic candidate to campaign as the NDP-labor alternative in the 1970's, will be opposed by Tony O'Donohue, the recently defeated mayoralty candidate, who, despite big business and Tory ties, won by comfortable margins in this ward.

Speakers at the Pantalone rally, including NDP alderman Dan Heap, Metro Labor Council president Sam Fox, and Reform Metro alderman David White, stressed the political significance of the election. A victory for O'Donohue would not only add one more brazenly right-wing business alderman to council; it would jeopardize any possibility of pro-reform, pro-labor forces developing a majority on city council.

In view of the decisiveness of this by-election, RM supporters such as David White have been pressured to move in behind the NDP campaign. As well, NDPers from across the city are treating the by-election as a cause for mobilizing their ranks to move into the campaign.

The big money is backing O'Donohue and the catch word for contributions to this trusted ally is by no means Not A Dime in '79. The importance of the by-election contest between the candidates of labor and capital, and the odds that are so clearly staked out, warrant a full-scale effort of Metro NDPers behind the Pantalone campaign.

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Nationalizing US asbestos holdings

PQ broadens support

While resisting strong pressure from big business in Quebec to back off on higher income taxes on executive salaries, and insisting on French education for the children of Anglophone immigrants, the PQ is forging ahead with a phenomenal range of significant reforms affecting "le monde ordinaire"—ordinary Québécois workers.

It's dead serious about creating industrial jobs in the asbestos mining field, as it proved with legislation to nationalize Asbestos Corp., after negotiations on a purchase price met a company stonewall (it's "an important source of revenue" for the giant U.S. defence contractor General Dynamics).

The PQ has also moved to block the sale of Credit Foncier, which would result in a large chunk of Quebec capital being dissolved into a newly-created pan-Canadian trust.

It's social legislation is unprecedented in North America, at once presenting a challenge to the NDP across Canada to go to the left, and giving the lie to the NDP leadership's fatuous insistence that Quebec can do better only by staying within confederation.

Workers at Cadbury's protest decision to close down plant and move to Whitby, Ontario. Their boycott of Cadbury and Schweppes products cut sales by 50%.

While a ban on commercial advertising aimed at children has received the most publicity in English Canada, the PQ has also created a Consumer Protection Office armed with the toughest regulations yet seen over the marketing and repair of new and used cars, on the operation of charities, on debt-collection agencies and over private schools. Nor may banks increase one's credit limit without a consenting signature. Lotteries must henceforth reveal what the odds are of winning, and state that it is a "voluntary tax." Asked if this would apply to the Federal Loto-Canada, Cabinet Minister Lise Payette replied: "What do you think? The law says anyone who addresses the consumer in Quebec has to obey."

A new Youth Protection Act sets out children's rights to be consulted on whether or not they are to remain at home or enter any institution, rights of legal counsel and exemption from trial or police detainment if under 14.

Agricultural and domestic workers will now be assured a 44-hour maximum work week, 4 paid holidays per year, two weeks paid vacation and bereavement leave. Pregnant women will be assured an 18-month maternity leave period by proposed legislation, receiving a $240 government grant and protection against being laid off from her job or suffering pay reduction because of pregnancy.

In Montreal, where 81% live in rented quarters, the new Bill 107 reinforces restrictions against landlords raising their rents. New tenants now must be informed of the previous rental. Any raise continues to be subject to approval by the Rental Board, but landlords will face further obstacles if they plan to demolish, sub-divide or convert housing space to other use.

Proposed legislation in industrial safety has met opposition from the unions, which want the PQ to go further than stating the right of workers to refuse to work in conditions they deem unsafe.

Quebec's students moved out massively (81,000 struck half of the junior colleges and two universities) to demand the PQ enact it's promise of free tuition and a student allowance. Utilizing the students' lack of support among workers generally, the PQ turned back the students' demands, offering however concessions on five points: more liberal student aid, eased repayment of student loans, reduced rates and higher ceilings on loans to single-parent students, larger tax exemptions for parents and doubling of funds available to students.

Facing stiff federalist propaganda and continued economic blackmail from large corporations moving head offices and operations out of Quebec, the PQ must win an important victory in the coming referendum on independence. In seeking to broaden its base from the cities and the youth to the farms and housewives and workers, the PQ will continue to provide valuable acquisitions which the labor movement must defend and extend.

Organizing drive moves ahead

Que. bankworkers first win

Canada's first legal bank workers' strike took place in the third week of January. After two days on the picket line the 950 members of the Office and Professional Employees International Union won what they hailed as a victory that will boost the campaign underway to organize workers in banks across the country.

The OPEIU organized the employees of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank, one of the smallest with $1.4 billion in assets, some 12 years ago. Its 11 branches are all concentrated in the Montreal area. The new contract brings the average wage to $220 a week—along with a lump settlement of about another one percent.

Last month the Bank of Montreal was forced to sign its first collective agreement covering five branches and two sub branches. Four in Ontario are with the Retail Clerks International Union and three in BC are with Local 15 of the Office and Technical Employees Union. This was the second group of bank workers to win a collective agreement last year. Last fall, the Canadian Union of Bank Employees won a contract from the Bank of Nova Scotia in Western Ontario.

The bank employees' organizing drive has met with considerable resistance from the bank bosses. The agreement with the Bank of Montreal only matched a salary increase that the bank had already given its non-union employees but which it held back as blackmail from the unionizing staff. The Canadian Labor Relations Board granted the union certification at the Tweed, Ontario branch without a vote because of blatant unfair labor practices by the bank. While the board has dismissed many complaints, it has had to find the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIB of C) guilty three times of violating the code with measures designed to destroy the organizing efforts of the Union of Bank Employees—a directly chartered local of the Canadian Labor Congress. Both the CIB of C and the Royal granted a nine percent wage increase, considerably larger than in recent years, but not to employees at 16 of its 3,300 branches where the union has been certified or where employees have applied for union certification. The Bank of Montreal picked up increased health insurance premium costs for all staff except unionized employees. But the bankers' anti-union efforts are so crude that they appear to be having the opposite effect. The organizing drive is on.

Montreal bankworkers, organized in the Office & Professional Employees International Union, won their first legal strike—the first bankworkers' strike to take place in Canada.

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Gov't body confirms French no danger to safety in air

by John Morgan

Francophone air controllers and pilots won an important victory when a Federal Transport enquiry recently concluded that a bilingual air control system "will have no detrimental impact on safety." There might even be "some improvement" in safety—a sharp rebuff to the Anglophone-dominated Pilots and Air Controllers associations that threatened to strike against bilingualism in the air in June 1977. This issue, which split Trudeau's cabinet on language lines and led him to compare it to the World War II conscription crisis, caused Francophone air controllers to break away and form their own group, Les Gens de l'Air. With support from the PQ government, Les Gens fought the widespread Anglophone hysteria over air safety and demanded more Francophone personnel in professions which have long been Anglophone fiefdoms.

Forward supported Les Gens de l'Air and predicted that the Québécois' determination to establish French as **the** language of work would prove to be irresistible. Indeed, in a two-year period since then, no fewer than 13,383 violations of the English-only regulations covering Quebec's major airports have been reported, and in the context of the PQ's French-language charter, the English-only rule has proven unenforceable.

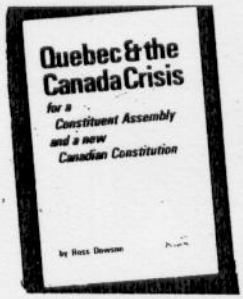
Les Gens president Roger Demers, while welcoming the Federal report which in effect recognized the necessity of French in Quebec's airspace, denounced the snail's pace at which it is to be introduced—in 7 to 8 years. He called for French usage immediately at Dorval and Mirabel, and also for its extension to Labrador, New Brunswick and the Ottawa region.

In an earlier ruling, the Federal government refused to recognize Les Gens as representing Quebec's 330 Francophone air controllers and pilots, and dismissed their charges of racism against the Canadian Air Traffic Control Association. In reality, the Association is permanently divided, Les Gens being the sole defenders of Francophone airline and airport language and job rights.

Harmony can only be restored in this sector of the union movement by accrediting Les Gens de l'Air as the representative of all Quebec members, enjoying full autonomy within the pan-Canadian Association—a concrete example of sovereignty-association within the labor movement.

Des patriots rentrent au pays. **Louise and Jacques Cossette-Trudel return from France to face charges of being members of the Front de Libération du Québec cell that kidnapped British Trade attaché James Cross in 1970.**

The Task Force on Canadian Unity declares: **"Canada is passing through a period of travail which is more than a crisis of development, it is a crisis of existence itself."** we agree—order your copy of this proposed solution—



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NDP editor's guts turned as Schreyer named G-G

by Wayne Roberts

There may well be some electoral advantages in this, admitted Skip Hambling, editor of the Saskatchewan NDP's **Commonwealth**. "But... something deep in my guts turned."

Ed Schreyer—who mere weeks before had told a Manitoba NDP convention that we're "up against the boys with the bucks... that is precisely who you have to pit yourself against"—had just accepted appointment to the highest office in the land, the Governor-Generalship. And Skip Hambling recalled the famous incident in the 1930s, when even a Liberal cabinet minister Croll had resigned rather than be associated with a government assault on organized labor, claiming "I would rather walk with the workers than ride with General Motors." Hambling wondered whether the NDP could stand up to that kind of test today, or whether the "holy grail of a parliamentary majority" would lead the party away from its sometimes unpopular but necessary tasks.

For Schreyer, who had been actively considering a federal Liberal appointment since his days as NDP premier, there were no such misgivings. He has always prided himself as having "a minimum of ideological bias," although this minimum allowed him to welcome the touring Queen in 1970 with the words "your presence attests the vitality of our traditions and the permanence of our institutions." During his second term as premier, while flirting with the possibility of a Liberal appointment and underwriting the Liberal wage-freeze against the protests of the federal NDP and the labor movement, Schreyer consciously carried himself as a non-partisan politician. As opposition leader, he felt uncomfortable in the role of critic. As his wife described his mood: "He was caught between the devil and the deep blue sea." Schreyer evidently made his choice.

The NDP leadership rejoiced at his decision, notwithstanding the difficulties it created for the Manitoba NDP. Broadbent pronounced himself "delighted." Lewis welcomed it as a step that would "kosherize" the NDP.

As these responses suggest, Trudeau's appointment was a brilliant ploy, capable of lulling important working class leaders into a false sense of security. A discredited prime minister now has as the Canadian respresentative of "the permanence of our institutions" a man associated with immigrant minorities and social justice. As Trudeau evaluated Schreyer's qualifications, he was young, dynamic "but not from the Establishment," and could attract youth "outside the classical group of Establishment people." It used to be said that Liberals stole CCF-NDP policies. Now, in a period of Liberal retrenchment on all social programs, it is cheaper to steal personnel.

The appointment of Schreyer was Trudeau's boldest, but by no means isolated, move to date to bring NDP-labor figures into the institutions of state legitimacy. Trudeau was still rising to prominence when former CCF leader Major Coldwell was appointed to a commission investigating the RCMP, and identified himself with recommendations to strengthen the powers and secrecy of the force. In 1978, the NDP leadership gave no indication of protest when prominent elected officials like Reid Scott and John Gilbert were appointed to judgeships, and thus barred from campaigning on behalf of NDP successors.

Is an appointment of an NDPer to Senate next in line? For Trudeau, the problem of NDP scruples has now been surmounted. The Governor General, consciously designed by Confederation father John A. Macdonald to enshrine non-elective principles at the head of state, is now kosher for the NDP leadership. Why not the twin institution of the appointed Senate, which John A. saw as the buttress of the rights of the minority, adding that the wealthy are always a minority?

An office increasingly discredited as a relic of British colonialism is now occupied by a dynamic man who will not confine himself to ceremonial "governor-generalities," but who will take the campaign trail for the Liberal brand of national unity. A non-Establishment person will read speeches from the throne which cut back on UIC, on Mothers' Allowances, and force strikers back to work.

Of course, there will be a new populist touch, and some New Democrats, workers, farmers and Natives will be invited to state dinners, where they can partake of His Excellency's $2.5 million annual grocery bill. However, the service staff have already served notice that no doggie bags will be allowed.

The rulers of this country will pay the price and share the crumbs from their table, if those who enjoy crumbs will pay the admission price and sell some credibility to which the rulers could never aspire. But for the NDP, that is a high admission price indeed, one which compromises its very integrity as an independent, fighting movement.

The NDP leadership is becoming kosherized—in the eyes of the bosses. But in the eyes of politically conscious workers, the foundation of the NDP, the new lease on scraping and bowing before His Excellency can only serve to discredit the party, and the social alternative which it claims to represent.

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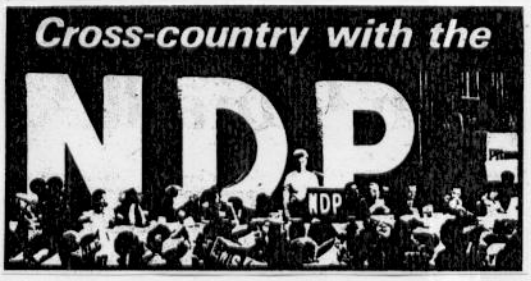


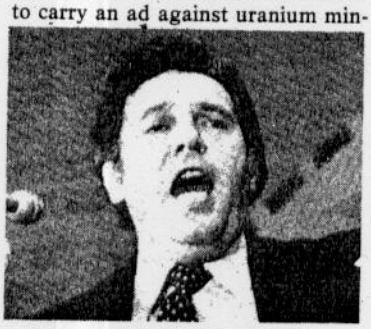
NDPers hit Sask. policy

The Woodsworth Irvine Socialist Fellowship, an NDP affiliate in Alberta, introduced a motion to the fall convention of the Alberta NDP, calling for a statement of concern over the Saskatchewan government's decision to proceed with uranium mining in a joint venture with a French multinational.

The statement points out that safety regulations in Canada permit radiation of 500 millirems per year, as compared with 30 in Germany and 25 in the U.S. The integrity of the NDP will inevitably be compromised by the venture, the statement claims, because of the inadequate safety measures required by Canadian law and the profit orientation of the government's joint partner.

The Fellowship felt no hesitation in criticizing an NDP government, believing that the first loyalty of an NDPer is to humanity. The statement urges that the Saskatchewan NDP "which uses the slogan 'People matter more' surely should agree with and follow through with on that belief."

The Saskatchewan government's decision to mine uranium has already begun to corrupt the integrity of the provincial organization. During the election, the party's widely read **Commonwealth** refused to carry an ad against uranium mining. When asked to explain this act of censorship, the **Commonwealth** editor could only reply: "Why it happened can best be put down to the practice of **real politik**—the difference between the way we would have things and the way they really are."



BC NDP leader Dave Barrett

And what will the policy of **real politik** dictate when it comes to matters of miners' safety?

Pioneers in plant safety

To take up a more positive development in the Saskatchewan NDP government, it recently passed an Occupational Health and Safety Act with pro-labor measures that are unprecedented in Canada. The act allows a worker "to refuse to do a job which he reasonably believes to be unusually dangerous," until the problem has been investigated or corrected. The law also protects workers who use their rights against employers' discriminatory reprisals.

Occupational Health Committees composed of labor and management representatives are a legal requirement in all workplaces having more than ten people. These committees can act as full-time health and safety inspectors.

New regulations are also being prepared to guarantee a worker's right to scientific information on workplace dangers. Unlike laws which denied Ontario's Elliot Lake uranium miners access to medical information on the state of their health, which effectively allowed these workers to be used as human guinea pigs, Saskatchewan law will insist on workers being constantly updated.

In Ontario, a hypocritical ad jingle co-sponsored by the government explains to workers that "you have the know-how. Use it." In this view, accidents are the result of workers' irresponsibility rather than powerlessness.

The Saskatchewan law provides a new framework for labor's responsibility. Workers have the power. Let us hope that they use it, and apply it in particular to the government's new uranium mining ventures.

Fundraising machines?

The provincial council meeting which took place in Toronto just before Christmas was highlighted by a sharp clash over the budget presented by the party executive.

The executive budget proposal demanded a whopping increase from $445,000 spent in 1978 to $674,000 for 1979, a 30% increase. Ridings would be responsible for $574,000 of this money.

No new political initiatives were outlined by the party brass to justify such increases. The figures had been computed to the satisfaction of the machine, and it was up to the ridings to obey.

Ridings in Toronto, St. Catharines, Niagara Falls and London proposed a counter-budget which was based on the needs of ridings to maintain their political activity. Toronto delegate Harry Kopyto received widespread applause when he denounced the bureaucratic determination of the budget, one which would destroy the capacity of ridings to deepen their work in local areas. Activists from working class and poor ridings throughout the province, representing members who could not benefit from tax deductions allowable for more affluent members assumed by the executive, spoke poignantly of the difficulties in meeting the demands that had been so mechanically determined.

The budget represents the callous disregard for movement-building held by the current party executive, and an attitude of stripmining local associations, regardless of their needs or possibilities. As the treasurer's report in a post-council St. David's newsletter put it: "Are we to perceive ourselves as fundraisers only or are we to expand our energies in political and community organizing at the local level?"

The budget was passed after considerable protest.

ON THE LINE

Cross-border support for Inco strikers

The Sudbury miners are going into their fifth month of strike for a new contract against the Canadian-based U.S.-owned International Nickel Corporation. The support that their struggle has won from cross-Canada labor, particularly for the Christmas season, was phenomenal. After his resignation as Ontario NDP leader, Stephen Lewis felt free to go all the way in dissociating himself from the local when it decided to strike, back in mid-September.

Steel District 6 Director Stu Cooke, who went so far as to publicly voice his opposition to strike, however showed sufficient feelings of class solidarity, once the vote was taken and acted upon, to express his support.

Across the border the National Guard Armoury at Eveleth, Minnesota, was the site, on December 15, of a powerful demonstration of international solidarity from the Iron Range Steel workers' locals there. In part it was to celebrate that they had raised almost $9,000 in support of Sudbury. Top leaders of the five locals, two Sudbury strikers, and Ed Sadlowski spoke. Sadlowski when contesting McBride for the presidency came up to Sudbury where he had the support of local president Patterson.

"Their strike against INCO is no different," he said, "than our strike was against U.S. Steel, Inland and Republic. ...INCO is not some foreign firm on the North American continent trying to take away jobs from workers in the U.S." The INCO monopoly was put together by J.P. Morgan at nearly the same time as he put together the U.S. Steel monopoly. "The House of Morgan has their tentacles into International Nickel...So we want to pass on this message—their strike is our strike."

Willard Anderson, president of Local 2660 at Hanna Mining, spoke of the need to establish a common expiration date for the contracts of USW miners in Canada and in the U.S. Joe Samargia, president of Iron Range Local 1938, recalled the support that they had got from the German Steelworkers who by a narrow margin have just settled their 208,000-strong strike, the first in fifty years, that shattered the hopes of the German capitalist class that Germany would be exempt from the class struggle.

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forward
FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM
Vol.4 No.2 (36) | ISSN 0700-9038 | MAY 1979 | TORONTO | 25 CENTS

Labor goes all out

by Richard Hunt

"Would you elect your boss as shop steward?" asks the back cover advertisement in this issue of the Canadian Union of Public Employees' membership paper. The election appeal is similar to that being published in scores of union publications across the country that are joining into the biggest campaign ever for an NDP government.

Taking its cue from the 1976 Canadian Labor Congress Manifesto calling for the "wresting of power from business and its government" in order to "instigate a system of national economic planning," leaders of the CLC campaign have concentrated on the key economic issues affecting Canada in order to build support for the NDP.

Campaign meetings, speeches, distributions and person-to-person contact on the shop floors are encouraging debate, discussion and an awareness of the issues among Canadian workers in the hope that this will lead to strong support for the NDP.

Economic issues are being stressed regarding basic questions concerning the declining pay cheque, higher prices and job security. Issues go much deeper, though, and as Jean-Claude Parrot, leader of the inside postal workers union, said after his recent trial: "Like the judge said, if you don't like it change the government, and that is something we are going to do."

While sections of the trade union movement have long backed the NDP with money, workers and support, the intensity with which this year's campaign is being run marks an important moment in developing a more politicized workforce in Canada, as the CLC implements its 1976 decision to "forge the power to create a socialist democracy."

The CLC campaign for the NDP is speaking to these necessities now. "We either do this job in 1979 and seize the opportunity, or we will simply go back to being a conglomeration of private collective bargaining agents with no presence in this country," claims CLC president McDermott. As dialogues with business and government continue to lead nowhere, social progress cannot come about "by a national trade union movement fiddling around on the fringes of capitalism and hoping to bore from within in an abstract way."

As Manfred Hoffman of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union stated, "For too long labor has preached in its ranks that unions and politics don't go together." The CLC efforts, beginning with this election, present the possibility of raising election campaigns above the level of media events and routine door-to-door canvassing. What is posed here is an ongoing relationship that will help create a living identity and unity between the labor movement and the NDP—"the perfect union"—that will work to hone the NDP more fully into shape as an instrument of workers' struggle."

With apologies to The Hamilton Spectator

Libs-Tories same Need basic change

by the Editors

At last! Five long years since the election of a man who promised to wrestle inflation to the ground without wage and price controls, but who wrestled labor to the ground with wage controls. Five years of doubletalk and coverup of systematic government connivance with flagrant RCMP illegalities directed against unions, the NDP and Quebec independence movement. Five years of task forces and agencies that have amounted to nothing but public relations ploys, excuses for the inability of federalism to either block the U.S. takeover and distortion of the economy or forge a new constitution to stitch together the bursting seams of an outdated, elite-serving BNA Act.

After five years of rising prices and unemployment, let's not blow the opportunity.

As the campaign proceeds, as Pierre Clark and Joe Trudeau are exposed as two sides of the same coin, Fuddle-dum and Fuddle-dummer, as the ad-men who package soapflakes do their best to keep the contents of their products under wraps, not to be opened until May 23, the pressure will mount. Don't waste your vote on the NDP! It's treasonous to stress economic well-being in a time of national disunity! If you must think in terms of economics, think in terms of nickels and dimes, of tax deductions for mortgage interests.

Don't waste your vote, indeed! Don't vote for what you don't want or you'll get what you don't want. Remember the workers who voted for Trudeau in 1974 to block the Tories, only to see the Liberals bring in Tory policy with a vengeance? Do we need a repeat performance with Clark?

The labor movement has had it with this kind of "choice." The CLC is mobilizing as never before behind the NDP, is turning the campaign into a referendum on which class will rule: the bosses through the Liberals or Tories—it makes no difference to them—or the working people through the NDP.

Vote for a third-runner? No, says Broadbent, correctly. "I'm not running to run third. I believe its time for a fundamental change—for us."

That's the issue, the need for fundamental change. That's why any vote that shows that the Canadian people are still caught up in the two-party shell game is a wasted vote.

To see that it's time for a fundamental change, not just a switch between Liberals and Tories, it's enough to look at the record of interlocking failures, a record which confirms that more than the record is wrong, although, by gosh the record is wrong.

Wages, prices and profits? Wages have improved at barely half the rate of profits since 1968, 141.2% compared to 240.8%. Last year's profits amounted to $13.8 billion, at least $2.2 billion of which left the country to foreign coupon-clippers. Five hundred companies, 0.25% of all Canadian businesses, cornered 64% of these profits. But as Trudeau shouted across the Commons floor to Broadbent: "We are glad there are profits. I would even say that the government is largely responsible for the fact that there are profits." Liberals and Tories united to defeat an NDP motion to create a commission to roll back prices.

Industrial strategy? Loto Canada is the closest this government has come to federal planning, but for working Canadians, it's been one million chances at unemployment, with 14 to one odds against each job available. Liberals, along with Conservatives, oppose an industrial strategy and a few figures tell the tale. A public debt which gobbles up $835 from the average Canadian's income taxes, just to keep up with interest payments. A balance of payments deficit of $5.29 billion in 1978.

The Foreign Investment Review Agency failed to rubberstamp only 130 of 1,650 foreign takeovers. The Minister responsible, Tory-

continued on page 2

Oppose arms drive, NDP leaders urge

by Gord D

by Gord Doctorow

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In a period of federal government cutbacks in social services like health, welfare and unemployment insurance, the incumbent Trudeau party has somehow found room for up to $4 billion for new expenditures which are deemed to be in Canada's national interest. This liberal dose is exempt from the Tory leader's catalogue of governmental splurging. Yes, also the Tories believe in the conservative sense of spending $4 billion on fighter aircraft for Canada.

But Andrew Brewin, the NDP's defence critic in the last Parliament, has condemned this projected purchase which "seriously threatens any talk of restraint in government spending." Toronto NDP alderman Dan Heap has also urged City Council to demand that the federal government restore the money to

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Native Territories leader contests as NDP candidate

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George Erasmus, a leader of the Mackenzie Valley Native People, is the NDP Northwest Territories candidate in the federal election. Eras-

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Northwest Territories NDP candidate George Erasmus

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In this issue

RCMP confesses p.3-5
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Native Territories leader contests as NDP candidate

Valley pipeline project—and is now the leading spokeman of the demand for an autonomous Dene territory.

As part and parcel of any settlement of their land claims, the Dene want recognition of "an aboriginal nation which does not choose to assimilate, to set up a system of government based on our traditions." In a territory three-quarters the size of Quebec, the Dene want all power enjoyed by a province, plus jurisdiction over agriculture, manpower, parks, fisheries and culture as well as veto power over federal projects "that would threaten the cultural existence of the Dene Nation."

Federal Indian Affairs Minister Faulkner recently denounced Erasmus, equating his demands with Quebec's option for sovereignty-association. Liberal policy is to keep the North open fo freewheeling continental energy development.

The Dene people recently reminded Ottawa that there are **three** founding nations in Canada, and that **the Native Peoples are the third** building block in any new Canadian constitution. "The current debate is not legal until we can participate," they warned.

Must oppose the arms drive Use funds for social needs

"socially-needed programs."

The money is to be used to buy at least 130 fighter aircraft for NATO and NORAD commitments. In Canada, the fighters are supposedly for defence against any Soviet-manned bomber attack.

"Unthinkable," Mr. Brewin said. "The planes are being acquired to meet a non-existent threat."

"This is an enormous waste of Canadian taxpayers' dollars as the fighter planes are of no help in the defence of Canada or Canadian sovereignty," Mr. Brewin said in a statement intended to inject the issue into the election campaign.

Putting into question the Liberal-Tory claims of Canadian job creation benefits from such purchases, he released the transcript of a U.S. television documentary that was highly critical of General Dynamics Corp. and the F-16, one of the two aircraft on the purchase list. This transcript shows, apparently, that General Dynamics has failed to fulfil its promises on industrial offset benefits to European buyers of the F-16.

The big business parties, however, are more concerned with healthy profits for the corporations, domestic or foreign, than with the **health and welfare of ordinary Canadians.** Their attitude is seen as especially repugnant to human need when it is realized that $400 billion a year are being spent by the world's

continued on page 2

continued from page 1

nations for armaments thus inching the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust.

In a letter outlining NDP international policy in the March issue of the Ontario **New Democrat**, Mr. Brewin counterposed to the humanly destructive armaments expenditures a redirection of funds for development "meeting basic needs of the poorest people throughout the world, namely in food, health services, education for literacy, clean water, adequate shelter.....those things which contribute to a more abundant and decent human life."

He pointed out that manned bombers are obsolete in the missile age and thereby cannot be useful for defence. Consequently, he pointed out, the NDP "has continued to oppose Canada's participation in NORAD."

Asserting that the NDP's internationalism is more than an idealistic faith but practical common sense, he concluded that "new rules and new planning within a global framework" are required.

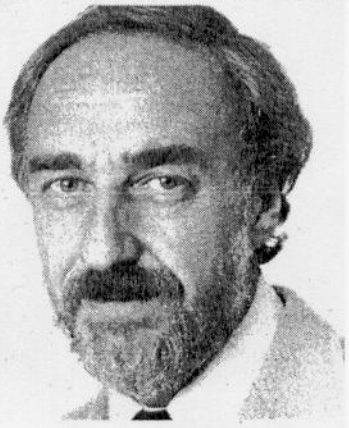
In this federal election, the NDP stands as the genuine alternative to wasteful inflation in the economy and to the war-minded, big-business ideologists whose insane logic threatens humanity's future. Four billion dollars could be used to subsidize transportation systems, improve health care, provide daycare, give jobs and dignity to out-of-work Canadians, retain Canadian scientists and technicians and nurses, repatriate Canada's economy through public ownership—in short, to apply economic measures to remedy the social illnesses affecting working, poor and oppressed Canadians. Canada needs an NDP government.

forward #36 May 1979

Socialist Rights Fund aids Dowson court case

by Harry Paine,
president of the St. David's NDP

The Socialist Rights Defence Fund, the prestige of its growing list of supporters and the money that has been raised on its behalf, have made it possible to continue and to widen the impact of the suit launched around the case of longtime socialist Ross Dowson, but what is in actual fact a suit in defence of the civil rights of the entire cross-Canada labor and socialist movement.



Harry Paine

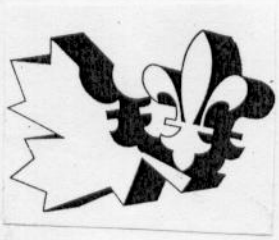
It has also made it possible to participate in the hearings of the Royal Commission, set up just one year ago by the Ontario government to investigate violations of the confidentiality of Ontario Health records, under Judge Krever. The record of a session where Dowson appeared, reproduced in part in this issue of **Forward** and which we hope will be reproduced elsewhere, is proof of the value of that effort. There have also been costly time-consuming efforts to deepen the investigations of the federal government-appointed McDonald Commission and the Quebec government-appointed Keable Inquiry that has been so drastically curbed by the federal government's refusal to turn essential material over to it.

However, of most pressing and immediate concern is the raising of a considerable sum of money for the next phase of the half million dollar slander suit against the RCMP itself. We plan to do considerably more mailings, although the new postal rates make this type of activity more costly. Over February 8-9 Dowson's lawyer Harry Kopyto cross-examined RCMP Commissioner Sexsmith concerning the latter's contention that an RCMP statement was a protected official communication and not subject to court action. The official record of this examination, which is essential to the process of the suit, alone cost some $600.

The SRDF needs your help—both moral, in the form of new names for its list of supporters, and in particular, financial—to carry on its efforts. Respond to this appeal as generously as possible by mailing your cheque to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, Administrative secretary Christine Judge, 50 Thorncliffe Ave., Toronto M4K 1V5.

forward #36 May 1979

Federalist impasse shows need to work out a new constitution



by John Morgan

This is the federal election in which the number one issue—"national unity"—is turning out to be a wet firecracker. The impending march of Quebec out of Confederation is the key issue that everyone but the Prime Minister is ignoring—which is not to say that it's going away.

Even the Liberals are downplaying it in Quebec to hold on to their one solid base, and the Tories are playing it cool in a vain effort to break through the Great Wall of Quebec and become a national party. But it is above all the New Democratic Party which must answer the "national unity" call in English Canada by recognizing and supporting Quebec's drive to independence, in order that workers in English Canada can begin to grapple with the constitutional outlines of a future society.

Overshadowing both the election and the question of a new constitution is the Parti Québécois' upcoming referendum on independence, likely to be held this fall. It overshadowed, and aborted the provincial premiers' conference on constitutional change, and was the raison d'être of the recent Task Force on Canadian Unity report, "A Future Together."

This report is a far-reaching attempt by Canada's ruling circles to come to grips with the deepest crisis they have yet faced. Authored by blue-chip senior statesmen Pepin and Robarts, fragrant with the scent of transnational boardrooms, the report states: "Canada is passing through a period of travail...a crisis of existence itself." Viewing calmly the threat of Quebec secession, they propose important concessions and reforms to save Confederation. But the contradictions beneath all their compromises betray their powerlessness to offer more than stalling or makeshift solutions.

Pepin and Robarts sidestep the federalist taboo against advocating a "special status" for Quebec, yet they state that their view is that "it is for the people of Quebec to declare themselves on their political and constitutional preferences, and not the country as a whole"—implying they see Quebec as a nation. They counsel not only against force to restrain Quebec, but also against "raising the spectre of the dire economic consequences of secession"—tantamount to accepting the most taboo subject of all in Big Business English Canadian circles, namely, the PQ's proposal for sovereignty-association, to which they give only token opposition.

The Task Force seeks to undercut the national aspirations of *indépendantisme*, by granting the validity of the PQ's Charter of the French Language and proposing wide-ranging decentralization of federal powers. They dangle before the Québécois the possibility of power over all cultural affairs, social services, manpower, more justice areas, natural resources, internal trade. They even see fit to include some foreign relations with the power to conclude treaties on provincial matters.

But they are not "giving away the shop" (in Trudeau's phrase), since they assign the federal government the onerous task of "strengthening of Canadian identity" and "preservation and enhancement of the integrity of the Canadian state." Quebec notwithstanding, Ottawa would control normal international relations and—there's the rub—overall economic policy and redistribution of income.

"The Achilles' heel of the report is in the economic sector," states Parti Québécois MNA Gerald Godin. "When it gets down to brass tacks—that is, cold cash—leave it to the serious people: the English," he said, noting that the Task Force would entrust Quebec only with limited research and development funds from the billions it collects in tax revenues.

Dabbling in constitutional reform, the Task Force seeks to give the Tories representation in Quebec, and Liberals a voice in the west by proposing a degree of representation by popular vote won by each party. However, any democracy in this reform is truncated, since only 60 additional members would be *appointed* to take their place beside regularly elected MP's. The Senate, instead of being abolished, would be replaced by a new body of provincial *appointees* based on the popular vote. Likewise, Québec is promised more Supreme Court *appointees*, all of which raises the practice of patronage almost to a principle.

Furthermore, Pepin and Robarts put their feet down (on Quebec's toes) against touching the Royal connection. They truly have agility in logic—imagine how Quebec is to assume near-sovereignty in turn for bailing out Canada's crisis of existence, on the condition both agree to keep the Queen of England as head of state!

The Task Force, in expending $3 million in listening to Canadians across the country, advises that a new constitution should be drawn up, and that it be adopted by referendum. Should Parliament fail, they venture, a Constituent Assembly might be necessary. They hasten to point out that they "do not believe that Canada is yet at the stage where such a radical by-passing of governmental authority must be considered...it is alien to our political traditions." The Task Force report also speaks of "re-constituting 'a people'," wondering out loud if fundamental changes in a nation can endure "in the absence of broad popular acceptance and support."

The answer is that Canada's ruling class is incapable of facing up to the problem the Task Force poses. It will require the mobilization of the Canadian working people to organize the Constituent Assembly, formed of delegates from the factories, homes, offices and schools, including the professions and population in general.

At such a constitutional assembly, English Canada would recognize an independent Quebec and rapidly conclude an agreement of economic association. It would extend the right of self-determination to Acádia and to the Native Peoples. Public control of Canada's natural resources would be one of the first of several issues debated that would pose the necessity of a sovereign socialist Canada.

The crisis of Quebec is over—the crisis of Canada just beginning. Canadian "unity," already shattered, can only be re-established on the basis of socialist equality. English Canada must regroup its forces, shed the bankrupt old order, and advance with Quebec along a parallel path of socialist sovereignty.

Sask-NDP editor urges party to take leading role

Skip Hambling, editor of the NDP's mass-based Saskatchewan **Commonwealth**, has called for "an aggressive and imaginative education campaign that will demand public attention" on Canada's constitutional future. He considers that the population is now uninformed and indifferent about these questions, but feels that the NDP must "bear a responsibility for allowing such attitudes to so readily flourish."

The "indisputable importance of framing a new constitution," he believes, lends itself to "truly popular forms of public education."

"The NDP should take the lead in developing such approaches. It would help the nation and the party.

"People get the kind of government and society they deserve only when no one offers them the kind of information they need, in a form they can take in, to get the kind of government they need."

forward #36 May 1979

NDP rounds out its platform on women

by Alice Klein

In the film **Norma Rae**, Hollywood has presented a new sort of heroine. She's a worker and she's a fighter. She decides to fight for the union. Her growth mirrors the real-life struggles of women workers, which are happening on a scale we've never seen before.

Last year, the women at Fleck made headlines when they stuck to the union in spite of intimidation from the crash helmeted, billy club wielding O.P.P. Recently, a 12 week strike against closed circuit TVs in washrooms at Toronto's Puretex Knitting Company resulted in victories for the mainly Italian immigrant women workers there. Right now, in the small sleepy town of Acton, Ontario, the workers at Superior Glove Works—mostly women—are engaged in a bitter unionizing drive. And the list goes on.

Young and old, immigrant and native-born, big city and small town —women workers are becoming a force to be reckoned with. So much so, that for the first time, the NDP has made job equality for women a major election issue.

The NDP platform denounces the cutbacks on programs geared to improve job opportunities for women. It calls for a strict affirmative action program in the federal civil service. It plans to make government contracts with the private sector conditional on implementation of affirmative action. It pledges to support provinces with dollar for dollar payments for daycare centers and to set aside $15 million to help rape crisis centers, emergency hostels and other women's service agencies.

Regrettably, Broadbent has failed to raise the need for women to have control over their reproductive lives through the option of safe, legal abortion. Organizations like Planned Parenthood, the YWCA, the Canadian Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women are trying to inject this issue into the election, pointing out that the great majority of Canadians favor leaving the decision to a women and her doctor.

The NDP's decision to interject the issue of working women into the election only highlights the resounding failure of the Liberal government's record.

A decade after the Liberals appointed a Royal Commission on the Status of Women, a score of key recommendations remain ignored or implemented only in a partial manner. The government's wage controls not only kept women's wages down; they widened the gap between male and female wages by tying all increases to a percentage of previous wages. The average woman still makes barely half the income of the average man.

The federal civil service has been a pacesetter in keeping women in their place, jobwise. Three-quarters of male civil servants make more than $13 thousand, while less than one third of women do so. The number of women ghettoized in "support staff" positions has increased from 68 to 80% since 1972. As a result of government economic policies, the rate of female unemployment has swollen from 3.7 to over 9.5% since 1967, and that doesn't count the hidden unemployed and those recently disqualified for UIC by the government.

The federal government has called for "further studies" into these and similar problems, a delaying tactic which the NDP has ridiculed. The NDP has called for action, not further studies.

forward #36 May 1979

NDP's municipal campaign comes under attack

By Dale Ritch

Writing in the March 19 **Tribune**, leading Communist Party official John Bizzell provides a distorted commentary on the Toronto Ward 4 by-election, which saw the Tory-Liberal candidate Tony O'Donohue defeat NDP challenger Joe Pantalone by a slim margin of 350 votes.

Bizzell's purpose in the article, under the headline "Could no label have made the difference?" is to suggest that if only the sectarian NDPers had dropped the label campaign, and instead put up a candidate of the "broad democratic left forces in unity," O'Donohue could have been defeated.

Bizzell offers no information to show that the label campaign hurt Pantalone's campaign chances. At best, he suggests that Pantalone's ability to attract 1000 more votes than he won in the previous fall campaign was due to the hard work of hundreds of campaign workers from a broad spectrum of organizations. This in itself, you would think, would dent the charge of a sectarian label campaign. Apart from that, no canvassers reported on potential voters who wouldn't vote for Pantalone because he was running on the label.

No honest evaluation of the campaign can deny the strengths it gained from its NDP base and profile (which, contrary to Bizzell, was consistent throughout and did not lessen "towards the middle of its duration"). The campaign was led by local NDP members who were deeply rooted in the ethnic, working class community. The candidate had earned the respect of many in the community, particularly Italian immigrants, as a result of work he has done as an open NDPer. The campaign strategy of boldly challenging O'Donohue's anti-working-class voting record was developed by an open and democratic election committee. By running a label campaign, canvassers were able to locate and pull most of the hard-core NDP support which numbers 2,000-2,500 in the ward, raising the possibility of an NDP triumph in the Trinity federal riding. This result is perhaps what really bothers Bizzell and the other old-line Stalinists who run the CP, since CP leader Kashtan is now running against the NDP in Trinity.

Bizzell's admission that O'Donohue was supported by "developer money all backed up by the old-line party machines" only confirms the need for a class campaign to expose the secret workings of party politics at the municipal level. Far from revealing some loose, rootless division between "democratic" and "reactionary" forces, the election revealed a hard class polarization in which a Liberal-Tory coalition ganged up on Pantalone. As Pantalone pointed out in a thank-you letter to supporters: "the campaign was polarized with both big business parties unifying their forces against the NDP-Labour candidates. The fact that we lost, though disappointing, is not surprising since the NDP lost two provincial governments (Manitoba and British Columbia) through such a polarization. Normally, with 45% of the vote, the NDP would win in almost any election at the federal or provincial level."

Finally, something should be said about Bizzell's scurrilous characterization of the "label" position as "a sectarian policy pushed by the right wing in MTAC and the labour council, backed up by an influential group of Trotskyites" (presumably **Forward**). Those familiar with the reality know that the right wing of the labor council and NDP are either indifferent or hostile to label campaigns, and prefer running unidentified reform candidates, resorting to electoralist arguments similar to those of the CP. Furthermore, the NDP elements pushing hardest for the label position are in fact those in the left of the party, such as the Dovercourt riding (moving behind the Pantalone campaign), and people like Dan Heap and Bob Spencer in Spadina.

The NDP campaign in Ward 4 illustrated above all the political merits of an NDP campaign, the ability to involve all sorts of activists in an overall political solution to working people's problems, that is a labor government at City Hall, which would work with NDP forces at the provincial and federal level. This is directly opposed to the CP policy of electing reformers, none of whom are tied to the discipline of the labor movement or a structured political party tied to labor. The CP has been a mainstay of ReforMetro, an organization which by its very nature cannot project class solutions.

As for political sectarianism, the CP takes the prize in this federal election, presenting 70 candidates, mostly in ridings where the NDP has winning possibilities. These candidates are calling for democratic and reform majorities, something which the NDP presumably is not. The CP's federal and municipal campaigns are other sides of the same coin, directed to thwarting development of vehicles of working class political action. Comrades of the CP who joined in the Pantalone campaign, only to see their results slandered in their own press, would be well advised to consider the class collaborationist politics that underlie the **Tribune**'s vilification.

Judge ignores electorate and convicts NDP trustees

The appeal on the Spencer Fisher case was lost on April 25. Funds are still urgently needed and should be sent to Spencer Fisher Defence Fund, c/o: Danson & Zucker, Suite 2010, 390 Bay St., Toronto M5H 2Y2.

by Ellie Kirzner

Two Toronto Board of Education trustees, Bob Spencer and Bill Fisher, may appeal an April 25 court ruling that could endanger the future of working class self-representation in municipal politics. Both were found guilty March 2 of what can only be described as a trumped-up conflict of interest charge under Ontario's Municipal Conflict of Interest Act.

The suit against Spencer and Fisher was launched by a defeated candidate of the right-wing after the two, as members of an NDP-led reform caucus, voted on a secondary teachers contract. Both are allegedly in conflict because their wives are primary teachers.

The "conflict of interest" charge emerged in the context of a vicious press campaign denouncing "revolutionaries" on the Board who accepted teacher requests for tenure during the life of the negotiated contract. (In return, teachers accepted a reduced wage settlement, a fact which zealot "teacher-bashers" conveniently ignored.)

It is clear as well that the judge's interpretation of the act has nothing to do with blocking corruption or restraining the owners of property or their representative from making or influencing political decisions in their own favor. Rather it defines a new area of interest which falls on salaried workers who are parties to a collective agreement. The decision in this case represents an attempt on the judicial level to do what has been attempted on other levels for so long —to define a conflict between the interests of public sector workers and the public. This decision rivals the refusal of the courts to allow civil "servants" to participate actively in politics.

Central to the judge's far-reaching decision was the notion that there exists a "historical relationship" between the salaries of primary and secondary teachers. In a country where pattern bargaining is normal, this decision has alarming consequences. The paper of the Toronto Teacher's Federation speculated on the possible "conflict of interest" that would emerge if a trustee happened to be married, for example, to a Hydro engineer. It seems that three years ago when Metro teachers struck, they compared their salaries to those of engineers at Ontario Hydro and felt they should earn that much. Is there not, extending the judge's reasoning, a "historical relationship" between the salaries of the two?

The real "crime" of Spencer and Fisher, it appears, is that they are members of an effective coalition elected with a mandate to challenge government cutbacks. Both made the occupations of their wives clear in their election literature; both ran on an anti-cutback, anti-firing program. The electorate could not have been clearer as to their purposes and plans. In this sense, the courts have dared to contravene the wishes of a voting public just as the courts intervened to overturn the Saskatchewan NDP government's moves against the potash industry.

It seems that whenever there is a real "conflict of interest" between workers and bosses, and the workers have found some opening in the democratic system with which to press their claims, a part of the state apparatus finds a way of intervening. In this sense, the Fisher-Spencer case is really a test of how well we can defend ourselves against the other judicial battles that are inevitably to come in the midst of this social crisis, as the NDP presses the **identity** of interest between private and public sector workers.

forward
#36 May 1979

forward #36 May 1979

Now your turn to act, Come to aid of Forward

by the Editors

Five years ago, the Liberal minority government held an election to rid itself of the NDP's limiting influence. Five years ago, the Conservatives launched a massive campaign for wage controls while the Liberals held that card close to their chest in the electoral poker game. Five years ago, the NDP then led by David Lewis, renewed its attack on the Corporate Welfare Bums, the tyranny of the foreign-owned oil and gas and mining monopolies, and presented itself as the real alternative to working people and the victims of capitalism. And five years ago, **Forward** was born and in its first issues completely identified with the NDP and the labor movement by vigorously launching itself as the defender of labor to power through the NDP in the thick of the election campaign.

In this our fifth year of publication, we launch our fifth annual fund drive to sustain the publication of **Forward**. Our volunteer, unpaid efforts to continue the publication and circulation of **Forward** must be backed by the donations of readers and subscribers—as always. The target is $5,000.

Forward is a socialist paper *in the NDP*. It is not the only paper in the NDP, but it transcends the mere house-organ reportage and electoral-machine routinism of much of the official NDP press. We seek to promote a wider political discussion within the NDP on programmatic issues in order to present and clarify socialist views and strategic perspectives. The goal is to educate and mobilize Canadian workers in support of the NDP and socialism.

Going beyond the party leadership's narrow, pragmatic approach to patching up the economy, **Forward**'s message to its readers is that the way forward out of the economic sicknesses of the system of private profits is through socialism.

We who put out **Forward** are socialists with a class struggle tradition within the NDP. Some of us go back to the founding convention of the party where we joined in the fight for a policy of public ownership of the basic industries of Canada and for withdrawing Canada from NATO.

Some of us also played a role in the Socialist Caucus of the mid-Sixties, when we fought against the opportunist adaptations of the party leadership anxious to avoid issues which might hinder short-term electoral gains. Nonetheless, we were successful in getting the party to oppose the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and in supporting women's rights. Many of the policies which the party brass resisted then are party policy now. For example, the Waffle had some success in winning the party to a programmatic vision of socialist planning in opposition to the increasing dictatorship of the economy by a continentalist partnership of the giant U.S. monopolies with their Canadian juniors.

Today we continue to serve an important purpose in the shaping of the life of the party. We raise the question of NDP municipal slates, of a socialist approach to an industrial strategy, the convening of a representative constituent assembly to respond to the crisis of Confederation, and of the need to build a healthy and viable left wing within the party to raise the NDP's level of consciousness and combativity in the struggles ahead.

So we now appeal to you, our readers, to aid us in the continuation of working for socialism by sending in your solidarity donations to meet the $5,000 goal of our fund drive. Send your cheque or money order, payable to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1.

Subscribe and be sure to get

Forward

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July 20, 1979

Dear Tim,

Forward is now in its fifth year of publishing. Throughout its last five years it has played a singular role in expressing the Marxist viewpoint within the NDP, the mass political expression of the Canadian working class movement, and in general across Canada on behalf of militants and socialists.

With as yet no new organized voice of the left presenting itself within the NDP, Forward still remains the only source of news, views, and contact among the disparate elements making up the NDP left. We need your help to keep it coming out so we can continue to make it available to anyone and everyone who wants to utilize it for our great cause.

We must continue to meet all the routine costa of setting it, laying it out and printing it which continue to mount due to inflation. And we need your special help to overcome what the Canadian trade union press has condemned as a new "form of covert censorship" - continual mounting postal costs. As you have probably noted your single third class copy now comes to you with 15 cents worth of stamps on it --and our bundles going to persons who help us circulate it on a broader scale have gone up much more.

As the Canadian Association of Labour Media, representing 60 trade union publications, noted just prior to last April's mailing rate increase, "mailing costs are to a point when the future of our publications are in jeopardy." The April increase went through, and now "going metric" has added on another increase. Noting that third class mail is the only category which the government has ruled must pay for itself - all other categories are heavily subsidized from the public treasury- CAIM observes that within the two year period prior to April, bulk rates increased by 50%. Forward is compelled to operate under third class rates because our press run is so many more times than our subscriber base, necessarily so as we must use Forward to intervene in the continually new expressions and forces of radicalization with mass distributions such as at the AntiDarlington nuclear power site, anti-cutback demonstrations, etc.

CAIM sees the postal increases as bringing "us closer to the loss of a vital labour press." Forward is not going under- by any means--but it needs your help. With your help we will continue and we hope improve Forward . Our goal this year is once again $5,000, not that we do not need more- but that is a good foundation upon which we can built to meet the challenges of the coming year. Send your cheque or money order to Forward Fund Drive , Box 778, Adelaide St., P.O., Toronto, M5C 2K1 - postdated cheques are quite acceptable. And while you are at it tell us what you think of the paper--what we are doing right and what we are doing wrong--and how we can improve.

Looking forward to hearing from you

with socialist greetings

Gord Doctorow & Bob Kasher

P.S. What do you think of our Quebec coverage?

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

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PQ united for yes vote

by John Darling

In announcing the referendum on sovereignty-association for next spring, Quebec Premier Lévesque unleashed the determination expressed by party militants at the recent convention of the Parti Québécois to get the campaign for a "yes" vote underway.

The 1600 delegates closed ranks with the leadership in adopting its new strategy not simply to declare, but to open negotiations with Canada to establish an independent francophone **patrie**, in a program entitled "D'égal à égal" — "Between Equals."

With a referendum victory, Quebec would be empowered to negotiate an economic association with Canada, seeking a monetary union based on free trade, except for agricultural products. Included in the program is mutual settling of economic and constitutional disputes with Canada, common Quebec-Canadian citizenship (with separate Quebec passports), Quebec control of transportation within its borders and its own airline, and the right to its own "pacifist" foreign policy (albeit skirting the problem of NATO and NORAD by remaining a participant). Should Canada refuse to negotiate sucessfully these terms, Quebec would seek a further mandate to unilaterally "exercise the powers of a sovereign state," either through another referendum or a provincial election.

While pictured by the English Canadian press as demoralized and temporizing, the PQ demonstrated its robust dynamism at this convention: 26,000 new members were signed up (7% more new women members than men), to a new total of

Louise Harel, vice president

of old age homes.

The delegates also called for guaranteed access to all police records on individuals, the destruction of criminal dossiers 5 years after sentences have expired, limited penal detention, and community work to replace prison for those unable to pay fines.

The convention called for Quebec to establish its own air controller school and merchant marine, and finally, pressed the government to raise the Quebec flag over the giant U.S. Asbestos Corp. without delay.

Although the left wing at the PQ convention consequently gathered

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U.S. frustrating free Nicaragua

by Paul Kane

The U.S. State Department is attempting to ease out and replace the murderous Somoza dictatorship that it promoted and has sustained over the Nicaraguan people since the U.S. Marines were withdrawn from that Central American country back in 1933. With Somoza confronted by the opposition of every level of Nicaraguan society, from farmer, worker, shopkeeper to capitalist, Washington has written him off as hopelessly doomed, even were he to succeed in crushing the latest upsurge in the civil war.

The question is—what is to replace this murderous police regime as it climaxes its decades of ruthless pillage and exploitation of the country and its people in an orgy of murder and destruction that threatens to take everything down with it. And what will be the impact of the heroic struggle of the Sandinista freedom fighters on the stability of Somoza's hated counterparts in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala? What is the possibility of the civil war spreading over into a Central American social revolution?

The U.S. power-brokers have been compelled to dismiss Somoza's attempts to mask the preservation of his regime in the framework of the cold war—that the opposition is Havana-controlled—as being unworkable and too risky. When calling for Organization of American States (OAS) "mediation," U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance stated: "We have told President Somoza we believe that a political solution is necessary to resolve the problem." Otherwise, Vance said, "polarization will continue and the chances of a radical solution to the problem are great."

While the U.S. has pulled back on its proposal to send an OAS "peacekeeping" force into Nicaragua, the White House has not completely ruled out the possibility of actually sending U.S. troops into Nicaragua. It had to pull back when the representatives of 13 Latin American states summoned to Washington introduced a resolution calling for a political solution, within a framework "that scrupulously respects the principle of non-intervention." The heads of state of five Latin American countries—Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia and Peru, had earlier recognized the Sandinistas as members of a legitimate army, and Panama and Costa Rica have recognized a provisional government council composed of Somoza opponents that includes the Nicaraguan olive oil tycoon, Alfonso Robelo.

Anastosio Somoza, who inherited his position along with the heavily armed elite military force, the National Guard, pushed his weak and vacillating liberal-capitalist opposition off balance when over a year ago his killer squad murdered Dr. Pedro Chamorro, who had been editor of the country's largest newspaper, member of the Conservative Party and leader of the Democratic Union of Liberation. This broke up their forces and thrust some of them into an uneasy alliance with the guerilla Sandinista Front of National Liberation, whose influence spread across the

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'Boat people' grist in propaganda mill

The plight of the people in the Far East is real and urgent—particularly the plight of the "boat people" who are fleeing Vietnam under the most perilous circumstances in the belief, certainly in the expectation of some of them, that they will find their way to Europe or to America.

The response across the globe, in Canada where hundreds, possibly thousands, on their own or through hastily formed groups, are undertaking to sponsor a family is in many respects inspiring. Government officials estimate that it will cost sponsors of a family of five $9,000 a year until they are self-sufficient. In Ottawa a voluntary committee calls itself Project 4,000—the number it hopes to sponsor for their community. Toronto's Operation Lifeline estimates that it has 1,200 volunteers involved in its campaign. The efforts of the cross-country volunteer groups are in addition to the government's present quota of 12,000.

This response stands in sharp contrast to official government policy which actually served to dampen public reaction to appeals from other refugees—in at least as bad if not even more dire circumstances. The Jews in the thirties and forties, fleeing the Holocaust, got short shrift from U.S. President Roosevelt and Canada's Prime Minister McKenzie King. Those who managed to elude Chilean fascist Pinochet's firing squads and who faced, if not death, fiendish torture, got little sympathy from the Canadian government and the RCMP's screening processes. Those who made it to Canada were left largely to their own resources or to what little help socialists and the labor movement, despite official harassment, could marshall.

But here we have something markedly different—a highly orchestrated campaign by government officials and the mass media at every level. And one where the government itself is obviously holding back on the number it is officially taking responsibility for—all the more, it would seem, to build up, to rouse public indignation, public involvement and commitment, even, if as will be probable, it has to pick up the bulk of the bill later.

Whereas Ottawa indignantly denounced the government of the USSR for not allowing some of its citizens to freely leave that country, it is indignantly charging the Vietnamese government with driving its citizens out. They are being portrayed as victims of an all-out war

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Toronto NDP riding acclaims Sandinistas

The Toronto St. George NDP riding association's June 21 meeting took up a collection in support of the Sandinistas, locked in armed struggle with the Nicaraguan government headed by Somoza. The $46 will be sent to the Unity Fund of the Sandinista Front.

The meeting passed a motion expressing its solidarity with their struggle and recorded its protest against any intervention by the Organization of American States as being strongly suspect of attempting to rescue this murderous regime from being replaced by one established by the revolutionaries themselves. The motion was forwarded to the NDP parliamentary caucus in Ottawa.

Canada crisis requires NDP to clarify party program

by the Editors

The Conservative government of Clark is heading into the economic stormwinds of this fall and winter as a minority government with a political base limited to anglophone Canada, a labor movement which has begun to flex its political muscle in the election, and a major offensive against federalism led by the PQ government of René Lévesque.

The election itself was turned largely into a plebiscite on the leadership of Trudeau, with press and media speculation and interest focused on the abilities of the leaders. This served to obscure the real issues confronting the working people and mobilized the "anti-Trudeau vote" behind Clark—a change, but

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PQ united for referendum 'yes' vote

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203,000. Its fund drive went over its $2 million goal to $2.6 million—gathered by 12,000 militants in 100,000 donations, 97% of which were less than $100. Half a million came from non-members.

The delegates, largely between 25 and 45 years old and over half with university education, studiously discussed over 700 resolutions in 15 workshops, attended by the world press.

The convention expressed the opinion that Quebec's Native population constitutes "a founding nation" and invited them to "formulate themselves the status they wish within a sovereign Quebec."

The convention adopted a policy of sectoral union accreditation to permit organization of single union locals where dispersed small companies exist. The delegates were also concerned with aging; they called for an option for retirement at from 55 to 70 years of age by the choice of the worker, for higher pensions, a policy of home maintenance for aged persons, and a government network of old age homes.

The delegates also called for guaranteed access to all police records on individuals, the destruction of criminal dossiers 5 years after sentences have expired, limited penal detention, and community work to replace prison for those unable to pay fines.

The convention called for Quebec to establish its own air controller school and merchant marine, and finally, pressed the government to raise the Quebec flag over the giant U.S. Asbestos Corp. without delay.

Although the left wing at the PQ convention consequently gathered

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only 50 of the delegates' votes in charging the leadership with "an abdication of our sovereignty," they almost succeeded in challenging the policy of continued support for military alliances. Only the intervention of two cabinet ministers arguing against "controversy" turned back the attack. Militant Montreal PQ leader Louise Harel however handily won the vice-presidency of the party against the leadership's nominee on a program of encouraging open debate to safeguard the vitality and representativity of the movement, and as a partial rebuke of Lévesque's frequent disregarding convention decisions.

If the tone of anti-labor hysteria set by the captains of industry to date is any indication, the debate leading up to the referendum by the federalist forces will be sharp and provocative. The powerful Conseil du Patronat cried "betrayed!" after complaining at a recent economic "summit" meeting that upper-bracket income taxes were too high and that Quebec's minimum wage was out of line. Finance Minister Parizeau dismissed "the revolt of the rich," offering executives the option of tax shelters in Quebec investments.

Patronat vice-president Dufour then attacked the PQ as a dangerous socialist force and denounced Quebec nationalism as isolationist. **La Presse** editor Lemelin declared at a businessmen's luncheon that "the PQ threatens us with economic genocide and social violence," and that it is "poisoning the Québécois with little doses of separatism and socialist arsenic." The Chamber of Commerce of Quebec joined in the fray, decrying the "costly" policy of sovereignty-association, the nationalization of Asbestos Corp., and the "dangerous" policy of multi-company accreditation of new unions—calling for jail sentences to replace court injunctions "for breach of contract," as a new anti-strike weapon.

However, big business in Quebec has had no success in mobilizing forces against the PQ. Even the opposition Liberals were forced to support a new bill providing supplementary income for workers receiving low pay, the first phase of a guaranteed income plan. The bill empowering the **Assemblée national** to nationalize Asbestos Corp. is now law.

The left wing of the PQ is in a strong position to fuse the referendum campaign with labor's interests. The Québécois workers' involvement in the political questions raised by independence will be raised to new heights. In such an atmosphere, the left in the PQ is almost certain, for a whole stage, to become the rallying point of the spearhead for socialist policies in a sovereign Quebec.

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ROSS DOWSON

Dowson's $500,000 slander suit against the RCMP has the support of such famed international figures as Benjamin Spock, Nancy Mitford, Noam Chomsky and Linus Pauling. Among the growing list of Canadian sponsors are such cultural figures as Margaret Laurence, Joe Rosenblatt, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Al Purdy, Douglas Campbell, unionists as Sam Fox, Grace Hartman, Pat Kerwin, Terry Meagher, lawyers as Mary Boyce, Clayton Ruby, Charles Roach, Ken Danson joined this month by Michael Mandel and H.J. Glasbeek, and politicians as Andrew Brewin, Cy Gonick, J.L. Skosberg, etc., etc.

Longstanding socialist testifies before Krever Commission

Rebuts RCMP slanders

RCMP out to cripple labor Ont. Royal Commission told

Below, we continue in a second instalment of Ross Dowson's testimony this spring before the Ontario Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Confidentiality of Health Records. Dowson's testimony followed his submission of the material that led to the RCMP's admission before the commission that it had committed acts of forgery and communicated false messages in an early 1970s harassment of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and its youth group the Young Socialists, as part of its campaign of "dirty tricks" against the entire labor and socialist movement.

The first portion of Dowson's testimony, published and still available in the centerfold of the May issue of **Forward**, placed on the record official documents which outlined that the now-defunct LSA, from the time of its formation in 1961, had as its aim "to bring together, to organize into an effective force all supporters of the NDP who seek to win it to a class struggle program and a socialist perspective."

Dowson, who was LSA executive secretary or chairman at the relevant times, also explained that the RCMP, while it harassed what was "on the scale of forces in Canada a miniscule, unfortunately a miniscule, organization such as the LSA-YS," its real aim "is against the trade union movement and the NDP...to create an atmosphere that the LSA and other like organizations on the Left... are, if not in law illegal, they are in fact illegal."

"In my opinion," he said, "the price we are paying for the RCMP's dirty tricks that span several decades, is a weaker labor movement, a weaker socialist movement in Canada than one could reasonably believe there should be."

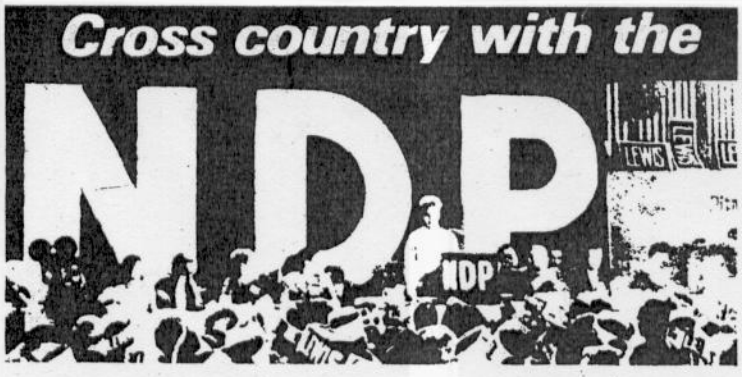
This second, as the first instalment, is the actual hearing record of a portion of that session, slightly edited for style only. We hope to publish a third instalment in the next issue of **Forward**, dealing with questions such as socialism and violence.

Should sufficient funds be raised, we hope to publish the entire testimony in pamphlet form.

Dowson is an activist in the Toronto Ward 6, St. George and Rosedale NDP. Toronto civil rights lawyer Harry Kopyto appeared with Mr. Dowson at the hearing.

KIT PARADE

forward
#37 July 1979



Ont. protests Iran arrests

by Wayne Roberts

The Ontario NDP provincial council added its voice to the swelling world wide protest from labor and other supporters of democratic rights against the arrest of nine members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party, three members of the oil workers council, some 20 steelworkers and hundreds of Arab protesters in Khuzestan Province (Iran).

The motion was presented to the June meeting by former Ontario NDP president and federal council member Jim Turk and had the support of Ontario NDP house leader Michael Cassidy.

The Arab Students Federation of Montreal and Quebec, and four NDP members of the BC legislature have joined in the appeal for release of the militants.

Spanish party chooses Marx

Arresting the sharp decline in their party's fortunes and morale, the recent convention of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) reaffirmed the party's commitment to Marxism by a two to one margin.

This provoked resignations from the party's leader, Felipe Gonzalez, and his entire executive. Gonzales had opposed those elements of the party's program which he felt made the party "unacceptable to the Spanish middle class".

The PSOE, Spain's largest single party and the inheritor of the socialist party of the Civil War era, has been steadily losing ground since Spain's first general elections. The party leadership has moved to expel Marxists, close the avenues of internal party debate, and in general orient the party away from Spanish working people and towards the middle class. In the process, they eroded the party's base of strength, demoralized its riding associations and expelled hundreds of militant supporters.

The erosion of principles has now been stemmed. While Spanish socialists were insufficiently organized to put forward a leadership to replace the Gonzalez regime, another convention has been called in seven months time to deal with this and other questions.

Ottawa Committee re-thinking

From an editorial in the pre-election issue of **Labour Focus**, bulletin of the Ottawa Committee for Labour Action: "...Through its pro-NDP campaign, the CLC has highlighted the fact, uncomfortable as it may be for many socialists, that within the labour movement the central political struggle is still between the NDP and the two corporate-funded parties... ...a strong NDP advance would be the most favourable electoral result for the working class...

"...On a deeper level and more significant in the long term, an NDP advance would rekindle hopes for Socialism in Canada, and serve to stimulate working class political debate and activity. Only in the context of a growing awareness for independent working class political organization will debate over the type of organization, programme and strategy be seen as relevant and meaningful.

"Although we have sharp disagreements concerning the programme, policies and methods of struggle of the NDP (and also the way in which the CLC is conducting its efforts), we encourage trade unionists to participate in the CLC campaign to win the labour movement away from the Liberals and Tories and to vote for the NDP; however we must also use the occasion of the campaign to engage in fraternal discussion concerning the nature and direction of the party."

This editorial in the bulletin with which Leo Panitch has long been associated marks a significant turn and poses the challenge to its supporters to actually join the NDP and work for a socialist policy within it. Copies of the bulletin can be obtained from the Ottawa Committee for Labour Action, P.O. Box 4415, Station E, Ottawa. No price is listed.

Pauline Jewett

When NDP parliamentary caucus met to set up the party's shadow cabinet, Pauline Jewett [above] was chosen for external affairs and Derek Blackburn as environmental critic. His not becoming NDP spokesman for external affairs so rankled Blackburn that he queried Jewett's qualifications—on the grounds of her having been a "staunch Liberal and once a Liberal M.P." He also used the occasion to pontificate to a Southam press correspondent on how the party could capitalized on the decline of the Liberals. His solution was for the NDP to fill the same grounds the Liberals now occupy—"if we begin to move away from being a doctrinaire socialist party—[if we cease] "mouthing off 19th century slogans about the class struggle."

Sask Editor on way ahead

Skip Hambling, editor of the widely circulated NDP paper, Saskatchewan **Commonwealth**, is hopeful that the NDP's position in the new parliament will help to crystallize the party's principles, since we are not in any position to deal for small concessions. In a June 6, 1979 editorial, he writes:

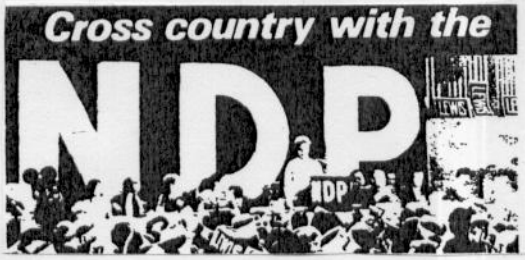
"For the NDP now the politics of expediency has no currency. And it is just what the party needs...

"It is no secret many part members are disenchanted with the party's deliberate drift to the centre on the political spectrum of ideas. But many quietly accepted it as a strategy that would lead to power. That strategy must now be questioned in light of the May 22 returns. A move back to the firm socialist ground now by Ed Broadbent and the 25 member NDP caucus could well end such disenchantment.

"Externally, those voters who took a chance on the NDP for the first time on May 22, and those who are that much closer to voting NDP next time, will be watching the party in the Commons to see if it is really different from the old-liners. Such evaluations will become a key when the Tory experiment begins to disintegrate and people are faced with deciding between the Liberals yet again or the NDP.

"The likelihood those new voters will come to the NDP has to be greater if there is clear demarcation between the two old-line parties and the NDP...

"The NDP must, now more than ever, hew to the line and let the chips fall where they may. It's an honest working person's approach after all."



Metro NDP clears way to intervene on municipal plane

by Gord Doctorow

The activist core of the NDP in Metro Toronto has found its place in municipal politics.

This is in no small measure due to the electoral success of the NDP aldermanic and Board of Education slates that ran and won more than half of their contested posts in the 1978 trans-metro elections. This event was all the more significant, in that the Metro Labor Council completely identified with the NDP slate through financial support and the publication of a joint comprehensive municipal NDP-Labor Council program.

The new impetus to the Metro Toronto Area Council of the NDP (MTAC) came from the labor movement's push for political action to defend its jobs and working conditions in the public sector areas. This has marked a turn in NDP municipal involvement despite the reservations of Provincial Office and the Provincial party hierarchy.

On the weekend of June 9 and 10, this turn was formalized through the adoption of a new constitution for MTAC. Its highlights are:

- the name of the organization was changed to Metro New Democrats, a clearer and bolder label
- a statement of purpose which states that the electoral goal "is to elect NDP municipal governments in order to implement NDP policies..."
- the structuring of NDP ward organizations, some of which sprang into **de facto** existence during the last municipal elections
- an affiliate fee structure incorporating Labor Council, individual union locals, NDP ridings and wards
- formulas for trade union, riding and ward representations to Metro New Democrats conventions and council meetings
- formulas to structure Metro Toronto NDP trustees, elected civic officials, MPPs, and MPs into Metro New Democrats Council and conventions (on a municipal boundary basis)
- the establishment of Standing Committees along policy division lines (Education, Housing, Transportation, etc.)
- the formulation of a rigorous nominating proceedure for NDP-label municipal candidates.

While the new constitution lacks a policy or manifesto preamble, this had already been established in the published program of the 1978 elections.

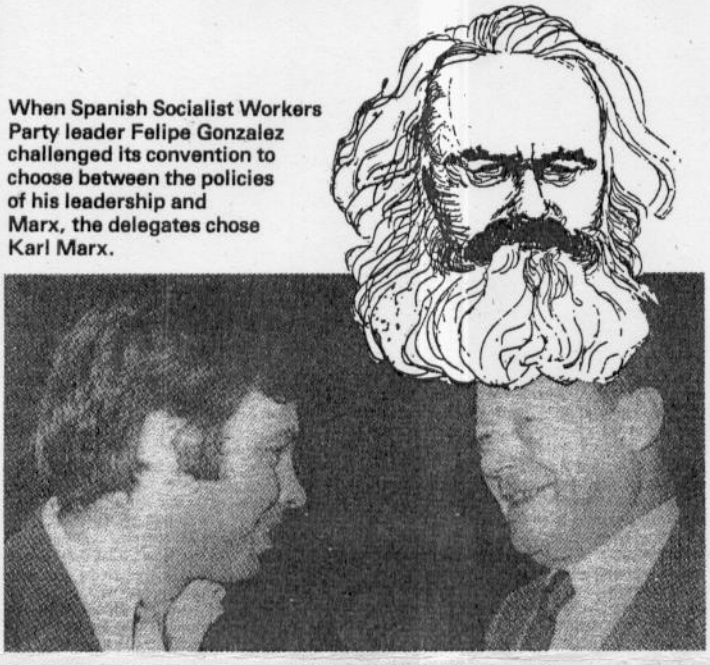
Metro New Democrats is at a transitional stage, with only three or four ward organizations scattered across Metro. Hence the constitution had to provide for representation from both ward and riding organizations, even where they overlap. The goal is to establish wards throughout Metro. Meanwhile, the provincial ridings assume the major responsibilities of organizing, funding, and direction.

The major contention in the conference appeared to be on whether to include provisions for endorsing municipal candidates in the constitution. The convention rejected a constitution which contained any reference to endorsation, because it would violate its fundamental aims. The question of endorsed status has been referred to the incoming council for framing as a regular bylaw of Metro New Democrats. The referred item sets out fairly stringent conditions for endorsed candidates including the key provision that only NDPers may be endorsed. This will certainly shape up as a political confrontation between Sewell backers and those who take a principled working class position.

The pro-NDP label partisans exerted their weight by endorsing an emergency resolution proposed by Dale Ritch from Dovercourt riding which condemned the actions of an NDP-endorsed trustee from Etobicoke, Verna Ross, who had headed a committee which voted to fire 100 Etobicoke teachers.

Policy workshops were held for all the main policy areas and their deliberations referred to the Standing Committees. As well, each NDP municipal grouping elected its representatives to the Standing Committees.

Among the plethora of emergency resolutions passed was one which established that the Metro New Democrats would intervene with its own anti-cutbacks leaflets and contingents in anti-cutbacks demonstrations. Some 750 leaflets were produced for the June 21 anti-cutbacks rally for children's services at Queen's Park.



When Spanish Socialist Workers Party leader Felipe Gonzalez challenged its convention to choose between the policies of his leadership and Marx, the delegates chose Karl Marx.

Felipe Gonzalez discusses with fellow spirit Willy Brandt

forward #37 July 1979

Clearing way for Forward fund drive

by the Editors

At this point, we are at about the $2,000 mark, or 40%, of our $5,000 fund drive goal. This slow start reflects the temporary diversion of our major efforts in the NDP campaign during the last federal election. But we are looking forward to arriving at our urgently needed target by the end of the summer.

We played an important role in the election campaign through **Forward**, aside from the routine campaign duties we performed. We succeeded in distributing close to 5,000 copies to homes of NDP supporters in Toronto and Windsor on a selective basis, to a mass rally of 2,000 against the construction of the projected Darlington nuclear plant (where **Forward** served as the only public voice representing the NDP position), and to other rallies connected with the election.

In the process of building towards a socialist Canada, **Forward's** message is that socialists should unconditionally support the NDP as a decisive step forward for independent working-class politics and yet maintain a clear socialist criticism of the reformist and vague approach of the party leadership in their presentation of the NDP alternative.

Against the Broadbent leadership's presentation of an industrial strategy in general terms of U.S. ownership being "a matter of concern," the task of socialists in the NDP is to clarify it into a socialist program. The NDP's historic task is to counter the unfettered rule of the imperialist corporations with a strategy that repatriates our natural resources through nationalization, that projects socialist planning, and mobilizes workers located in the centres of production to implement a democratization of production through a system of workers' control around the issues of a socialist industrial strategy. In going with the political experience of the Canadian working class, we aspire to simultaneously help to raise the level of consciousness of its most politicized elements and to help crystallize a left wing within the NDP.

This task becomes more urgent as we head towards the November NDP federal convention and next year's municipal elections.

The material basis for realizing our collective role is through your generous financial support of **Forward**. Your support is need **now**. If you have not already donated or pledged to the Forward Fund Drive, please take this opportunity to do so. Post-dated cheques are acceptable. Mail your cheque or money order payable to Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont. M5C 2K1.

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Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
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September, 1979

Fellow New Democrats,

We, the undersigned, urge you to consider the enclosed policy statement and to support the attached resolution being circulated in anticipation of the November Federal Convention.

HARRIET CONROY
Federal Council
Ontario

ALF GLEAVE
Federal Council
ex-MP, Saskatoon-Biggar

SKIP HAMBLING
Editor
The Commonwealth

CAMERON HOPKINS
Vice President
Ontario NDP

JOHN LABOSSIERE
Leader
New Brunswick NDP

RAY LARKIN
Chairperson, Labour Committee
Nova Scotia NDP

FLOYD LAUGHREN, MPP
Ontario Treasury Critic

GERARD MAROTTE
Federal Council
Quebec

DAVE PATTERSON
President, Local 6500
United Steelworkers of America

JOHN RODRIGUES, MP
Nickel Belt

SIMON ROSENBLOOM
Editor
Nickel Belt New Democrat

MURIEL SMITH
Federal Council
Manitoba

JIM TURK
Federal Council
Past President, Ontario NDP

5 Federal councillors
1 Pres of Steelworkers Sudbury
1 Leader NB NDP

As Canada's unemployment rate continues to be one of the highest in the industrialized world and our inflation hovers near 10%, debate goes on and on about how to solve the problems.

Increasingly, as a result of the NDP's taking the problems seriously, the debate centres around the need for an "industrial strategy". But, to the ordinary Canadian, this is confusing because all political parties agree that a "strategy" is desirable. The difference, of course, is in what is meant by the term.

The strategies suggested have been of two kinds--"unleash free enterprise" and "regulate the corporations." Those who want to unleash free enterprise see Canada as suffering because we have too little free enterprise--too little incentive for business to develop and grow, creating jobs and a healthier economy. Those who want to regulate the corporations see the problem as massive multinationals, usually foreign owned, that take our resources out and ship finished products back.

The policies of all federal and provincial governments have stressed parts of both these so-called solutions for years. As David Lewis has shown so conclusively in his book, Louder Voices: The Corporate Welfare Bums, business in Canada has been on the receiving end of more grants, subsidies and other encouragements to expand and develop than any of us ever imagined.

Despite years of giveaways, private enterprise has failed to deliver the goods. Here we are in one of the world's resource-richest countries and yet have over 10% real unemployment, inflation staying near 10%, and a significant proportion of the population living in poverty.

It would be a mistake to see the government record as one of only giving handouts. Alternately, various governments have tried to regulate business. Inducements to locate plants in less industrialized areas, subsidies to bring manufacturing to Canada (the recent $68 million to Ford being one of hundreds of examples), and laws to enforce restrictions on corporate policy have also been tried repeatedly. Ontario Government attempts to regulate INCO go back to the first years of this century. And the resulting adaption of government policy on INCO's terms represents not any simple lack of political will but the failure of a regulatory strategy. Our present economic crisis shows even more dramatically the failure of regulation.

Many in the NDP argue that government regulation has not been tried seriously enough by the Liberals and Tories. But when one looks at similar economic crises in Britain, Sweden and West Germany where social democratic/labour governments have taken regulation far more seriously than the NDP, the real failure of the regulation approach becomes clearest.

The question that confronts us is whether eighty to one hundred years is enough to convince us to try another approach; whether we can now say that neither "freer" private enterprise nor "regulated" private enterprise holds much hope of building a better society for ordinary Canadians.

That, after all, is the heart of the matter. To those at the top, our economy is not such a disaster. Their lives have never been better. It is the ordinary people who are suffering as our economy falters, as cutbacks are made in social services, as wages are controlled, as prices shoot skyward.

In finding a solution, we must begin by recognizing that the spirit behind the desire to regulate is right. It has grown out of a knowledge that business operates for profit, not people. When a choice has to be made between the two, profits will always be chosen without exception.

The problem "regulators" face is that at some point when regulations mean it is more profitable to go elsewhere, private corporations will do just that. So as long as the logic of private ownership is accepted, even reluctantly as in West Germany, Sweden and Britain under social democratic governments, the governments' options are limited. At some point, the possibility of more profit elsewhere will allow a company to blackmail the government--pull back your restrictions or we will pull out of your country. The history of that threat and its effectiveness is a long an discouraging one for social democrats.

In Sweden, by far the most successful social democratic welfare state, the labour movement has recently argued for employee/public ownership of major industry since regulated capitalism has not been able to guarantee full employment, favourable working conditions or significantly greater income equality.

The alternative to the present arrangements is simple, even if implementing it is not--do not accept the rules of private enterprise. Recognize that only through public ownership of corporations is it possible to operate the economy in the interest of the majority, not the privileged few. Those who argue the problem is simply foreign ownership would do well to look at the United States (with little foreign ownership) to see that it shares many of Canada's serious economic difficulties. Foreign ownership is only an element of our problem with private ownership.

The emphasis on public ownership does not come out of some purist ideology but is a result of the continuing failure of alternatives here and in Europe.

Public ownership does not mean the nationalization of everything that moves. A recent Statistics Canada study has found that a mere 100 giants control 47% of all manufacturing, mining and forestry. Together with the larger banks and finance companies, and a few dozen companies in distribution, transportation and communication, they would comprise the candidates for public ownership.

We must stress the issue of public ownership because it is the only mechanism for substantially reducing class and regional inequalities and for escaping from industrial and technological stagnation and multinational domination.

As a political party, we have an obligation to speak honestly and openly. This is an essential first step on the road to implementing our solution; for as long as most Canadians believe the shortcomings to be too much government intervention, "foreign" corporations, lack of a sufficient work ethic, or the many other false explanations poured out by the supporters of the present arrangements, we cannot move toward any real changes.

We are not without experience in public ownership. The NDP Government in Saskatchewan has successfully taken over much of the potash production in the Province, and the publicly owned Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan is now the largest potash

(ends)

Keep PetroCan public

forward
FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM
Vol. 5 No. 4 (39) ISSN 0700-8138 Sept./Oct. 1977 TORONTO 75 CENTS

(#39)

New course advocated by prominent New Democrats

by the Editors

Two important documents are now being circulated through the ranks of NDP activists. One, which we have summarized on page 2, is in the form of a policy statement and resolution for the coming federal NDP convention. It is presented by five members of the NDP federal council representing four different provincial sections, including Quebec. Among the eight other signers are top party spokesmen in Northern Ontario, including the president of the largest union local and the MP who holds the labor portfolio in the federal parliamentary caucus, and two prominent leaders of the Maritimes New Democratic Party.

It calls for "an industrial strategy for the whole country in which public ownership becomes the major tool to control the economy for people and also a means to introduce democratic and cooperative control of the work place." It is an appeal to the party to raise the socialist alternative to the bankrupt Liberal-Tory efforts to regulate the private enterprise, or capitalist economy. "Tinkering with capitlism will not produce the kind of society we want ... the choice for all of us is becoming clearer. Either big business owns government or government owns big business. As our economic crisis continues democratic socialism is not only becoming desirable, but necessary."

The other document is a penetrating commentary on what its author Odoardi Di Santo, NDP MPP Downsview, sees as the present "predicament," the "malaise," the "crisis" which the party is now suffering. It is a significant rounding out of the above-mentioned federal convention resolution.

Di Santo sees the party as being without "a coherent political line, and above all, without offering a convincing leadership." He says "the deficiency in cultural inquiry, the want of an analysis of the 'emergent' themes, the lack of cohesive leadership have resulted in dismay and bewilderment, not only among the members of provincial parliament, but also among the executive members and the base."

Jim Turk

Di Santo sees as the root of the party's malaise "the lack of a cultural dimension which prevents the party from understanding the problems of society ... the absence of an internal debate, the paucity of social analysis, and the fragmented and inorganic character of action."

The problems that confront the party will not be resolved by the formulation, no matter how brilliant, of a resolution for a coming convention nor an analysis, no matter how insightful, of their roots. A deep inertia and a powerful opposition, continually being reinforced by capitalist pressures on the party, stand in the way of their getting a hearing, let alone serious consideration — not to speak of their winning out. The struggle to give the strategic objective of a socialist Canada to the NDP and to formulate and win it to programmatic demands that express that necessity and prepare the working class to establish it is a long and difficult one.

The first requirement is the grouping of those forces who have some concept of this need. At the last Ontario convention efforts along this line were taken and it was anticipated that some kind of continuity of relations would be established, perhaps even through a publication of some type, making it possible to define our views, to reach minimal effective agreements and, on a persistent basis, widen our influence.

To be sure, as the crisis deepens our views will be affirmed again and again. But precious forces are being lost, and firm progress in the establishment of a socialist wing in the party is urgent.

Public control can defy US oil giants

by Gord Donnelly

In the midst of an energy crisis engendered by a growing shortage of fuel supplies and by high costs, Prime Minister Clark is proceeding to dismantle the only source of public control over the energy industry—PetroCan. In doing so, Clark must reckon with public distrust of the foreign oil monopolies and economic stagnation.

His move to sell off parts of PetroCan is an ideological, free-enterprise offensive aimed at undercutting the Liberals. The Liberals are hard put to attack a privatization scheme like

by Gord Donnelly

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His move to sell off parts of PetroCan is an ideological, free-enterprise offensive aimed at undercutting the Liberals. The Liberals are hard put to attack a privatization scheme like those which they themselves implemented in various sectors during their former government.

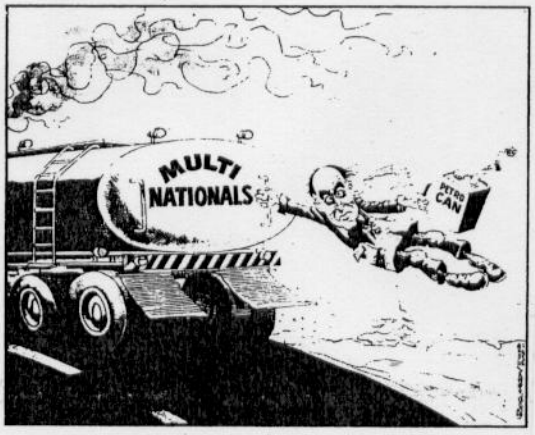
Furthermore, the Tories hope to give the economy a lift through the sales of shares of PetroCan, which would result in increased circulation of capital. Strong hints of denationalization by selling shares to the public in the style of the BC government have the shrewd earmarkings of an appeal to Canadian nationalism through private Canadian ownership —each Canadian getting a renewed share in Canada. This seemingly democratic appeal is being used to tap a widespread aversion to bureaucratic control of the economy.

It seems that the Tories have a lot to gain with this strategy especially as the minority combination of the Liberals and NDP in parliament will have to reckon with the Socreds voting with the Conservatives.

However, NDP leader Ed Broadbent's cross-Canada campaign to keep PetroCan in the state sector is shaping up as a good, popular move to win mass support against the Tories. Clark's demagogic move is being deftly countered by Broadbent's strong nationalist appeal to expand PetroCan's range of operations to make Canadians more independent of the U.S. oil and gas monopolies.

Selling shares of PetroCan is the furthest thing from democratic control of the Canadian economy. The open market distribution of shares, dispersed among many small own-

→p.2



PQ takes over asbestos as referendum nears

by John Mo

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by John Morgan

By passing legislation empowering the Quebec government to expropriate the giant Asbestos Corp., the Parti Québécois adds a powerful new element to its referendum campaign for sovereignty-association: economic independence through public ownership.

While the referendum, if it is to garner the support of a large majority, must be limited to seeking a mandate to negotiate future economic re-

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Socialist rights law suit sparks OPP probe of RCMP crimes

by C. Judge

The Ontario Provincial Police will be conducting an investigation into the RCMP, the Ministry of the Ontario Attorney-General, the Honourable Roy McMurtry, affirmed on September 10. The next day at a meeting of provincial attorneys-general in Montreal, McMurtry denounced the McDonald Commission—set up by the federal government in an attempt to defuse Quebec's Keable Inquiry into illegalities committed by the RCMP—for its failure to keep provincial authorities informed on those crimes committed in their jurisdictions. There is little doubt that these startling incidents arise from Toronto lawyer Harry Kopyto's bringing to McMurtry's attention earlier this spring that a top officer of the federal police, RCMP Superintendent Taylor, admitted under his questioning before a royal commission that the RCMP forged letters and circulated them or caused them to be circulated in their campaign of dirty tricks against a socialist organization. The admission took place before the Royal Commission on the Confidentiality of Health Records under Mr. Justice Krever, appointed by the Ontario government, where Mr. Kopyto was representing Ross Dowson who had been executive secretary or chairman of the now defunct League for Socialist Action (LSA) at the relevant time in 1972.

Mr. Kopyto, on behalf of Dowson, challenged the Ontario attorney-general to lay charges against the RCMP for violating sections 324 and 330 of the Criminal Code of Canada and to investigate the circulation of the letters involving possibly breakin and entry or petty trespass of a Toronto public school where the youth group of the LSA was holding a convention. Kopyto's request that the attorney-general take action was pressed by NDP MPP David Warner.

Also moving forward again is the half-a-million-dollar suit launched by Dowson against the RCMP for slandering him as advocating social change by violent and undemocratic means. This month a federal court will make a ruling on an RCMP motion that a statement read before the Ontario House and released by Attorney-General McMurtry to the press in late 1977 was privileged. This manoeuvre is essentially designed to block discoveries, the mid-

continued on page 8

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PQ takes over asbestos at referendum countdown

p. 2

lations with Canada as the basis of establishing a viable sovereign Quebec, the takeover legislation is evidence that the Lévesque leadership is ready to move immediately against the largest producer in one of its richest resources—asbestos. Evidently, the Québécois workers, by throwing massive electoral support behind the independentist, petit-bourgeois led PQ, are about to win another important victory—long before sovereignty is achieved.

Quebec supplies 45% of the West's asbestos, of which a negligible amount is processed in Canada. By nationalizing the wealth of this resource, the PQ aims to process 20% into manufactured goods in Quebec, creating the jobs and technology that its U.S. parent, General Dynamics, refuses to provide.

"Quebec will rightly be perceived as an area hostile to the free enter-

continued on page 3

continued from page 1

prise system" if it expropriates us, declared General Dynamics president Claxton, who went on to claim that the public Société nationale de l'Amiante would be incompetent in dealing with its $105 million assets, and that millions of dollars would be lost if contracts were broken with West German asbestos processors. Refusing to part with its lucrative mines, General Dynamics has brushed aside the PQ's attempts to negotiate a purchase. Instead, it had demanded $99 per share to sell, against the PQ's offer of $42 per share, a price already inflated 100% over the 1977 value.

The morning after the expropriation bill passed in the Assemblée nationale, the PQ having wrung Liberal Party support, Asbestos Corp. challenged its validity in the Supreme Court of Canada. And, in case the PQ government is not defeated in the two years before a judgement, it also applied for an interim injunction to block takeover in Quebec courts—which was, however, eventually turned down.

The PQ counterattacked, claiming that Asbestos Corp. was being drained of its capital, and assured the court that current contracts with foreign asbestos processors would be honored, in order to safeguard workers' jobs. The PQ also plans to take over the insurance plan against which heavy claims are being made by workers suffering from asbestosis, a crippling lung disease which has resulted from private industry's chronic failure to control dust in its operations.

With the major part of one of Québec's most important resources soon to be under public control, and with the planned transformation of a simple extraction industry into manufacturing, the PQ is putting forward the perspective of an independent Quebec, not only through painful negotiations with Ottawa against a backdrop of federalist propaganda and threats, but with a concrete demonstration of what genuine economic "repatriation" can achieve.

René Lévesque

Public control

p. 2

ers, would permit big corporations, domestic and foreign, to gain effective control through the acquisition of even minority blocks of shares.

Nor can democratic control be achieved through regulating corporations. For example, the recent uncovering of the greater-than-100% tax writeoffs corporations and wealthy investors claim for so-called risky gas exploration demonstrates that government regulation is a form of public welfare for "private enterprise."

It is timely to defend the **principle** of public ownership in order to provide solutions aimed at fundamental problems of the Canadian economy. Public ownership of PetroCan's $3.4 billion in assets, with its retail outlets in the West and its participation in 80% of exploration activity now taking place in Canada, is a sound basis for expanding government planning and control of the economy. In order to loosen the stranglehold grip of the giant oil monopolies and to provide the means for government planning for stable employment and industrial development, a strategy based on government ownership of key economic sectors should be advanced.

Mr. Broadbent's appeal to expand PetroCan is an important step forward for the development of a democratic, socialist industrial strategy. Only through a general plan of government ownership, however, is real democratic control possible in the interests of working people.

forward #38 Sept 1979

Letter to the CLC on nuclear safety

TO: The National Executive Committee of the Canadian Labor Congress:

Concerned with a guaranteed and uninterrupted supply of energy to keep the wheels of industry turning, major industries in Canada are backing the development of greater and costlier nuclear reactors. This desire to diversify industrial energy supply has been enthusiastically endorsed by governments at all levels.

But despite the greater danger in nuclear power production, government and Big Business have shown the same lack of concern for safety as they have in the areas of coal, iron ore or steel production. Driven by the desire for uninterrupted profit U.S.-dominated corporate interests have committed Canada to a massive and costly program of nuclear projects, largely financed from the public treasury, without solving the problem of disposal of deadly radioactive waste by-products, without assessing environmental factors, without safe and modern reactor designs, without sufficient maintenance and adequately tested emergency backup systems, without proper facilities for technical training and with the use of technology and materials in cooling systems that are often inferior or outmoded.

The labor movement has a special responsibility to ensure that the workers in these projects and communities surrounding them are properly safe-guarded. Those organized workers who stand in the front line of the danger—those who daily enter the reactors and who risk exposure, those who are most directly involved in the operation and control of the production of nuclear power, have seldom been consulted nor have their views been implemented even when expressed in strong terms. Those who have vested interests in maintaining unregulated and inadequately supervised nuclear power production have not hesitated to proliferate lies and half-truths. They have abdicated their responsibility in assuring that life and limb comes before profit. They have proven unable to establish proper surveillance, a reorganization of priorities and an orderly approach to dealing with the generating problems which have resulted in so many operational cut-downs.

The transfer of control over daily operational decisions from the bosses who are under pressure to nuclearize at full speed to the workers who know the problems first-hand offers the only realistic possibility for safe nuclear power production.

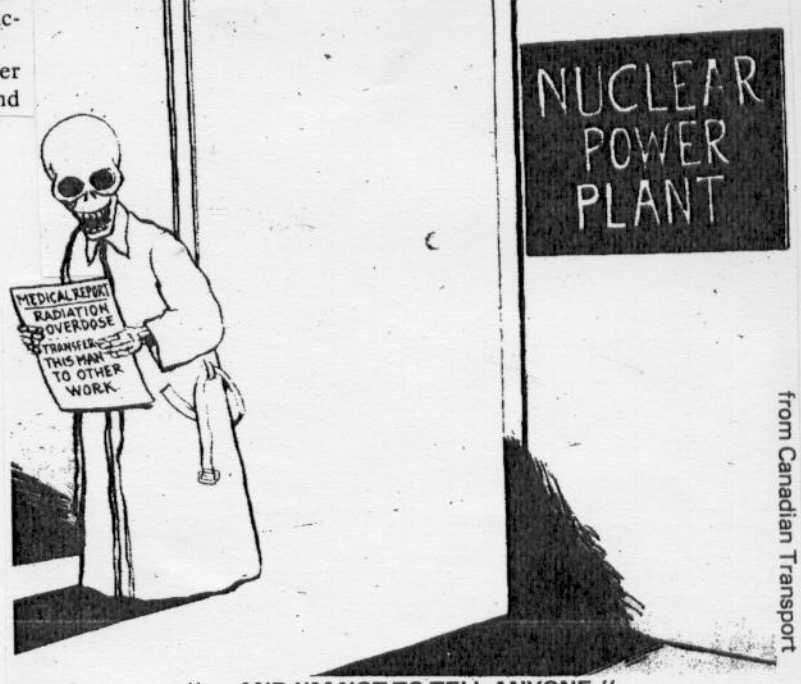
The labor movement must enter the nuclear power debate loudly and clearly and bring the weight of its hundreds of thousands of members to bear upon the issues. Specifically, those sectors of the organized trade union movement involved in the operation of nuclear installations should be asked to set up councils composed of representatives from the various unions which will be able to rely upon their members' individual expertise in recommending the conditions of operation of the various projects. Such councils could develop programs and establish guidelines for operating existing projects and establish clear criteria for shutdowns in the event of potential danger.

With the weight of the Canadian Labor Congress behind such recommendations, the population as a whole could be galvanized to challenge the profit-oriented experts who are now pushing for nuclearization at all costs. The CLC should insist upon giving such councils the power to implement their recommendations directly.

The challenge before the labor movement, in other words, is to call for nothing short of direct control by workers over nuclear power installations. Though innovative, this demand is neither academic nor primarily a matter of ideology: it is a matter of life and death.

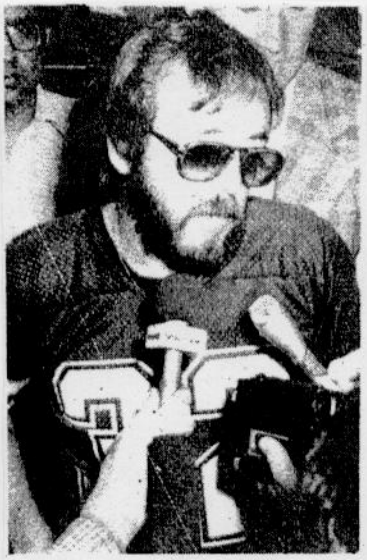
- by the Editors

Workers' Control—a matter of life and death



from Canadian Transport

"... AND I'M NOT TO TELL ANYONE."



Dave Patterson

Cross-Canada NDP leaders urge:

Public ownership the only mechanism

In anticipation of the coming November Federal Convention of the New Democratic Party, a policy statement and resolution to be presented to that convention is being circulated broadly throughout the party. The resolution has the backing of Skip Hambling, editor of the Saskatchewan *Commonwealth*; Floyd Laughren, MPP and Ontario Treasury Critic; Dave Patterson, President, Local 6500, United Steelworkers of America; John Rodrigues, Member of Parliament for Nickel Belt; Jim Turk, Past President of the Ontario NDP and other NDP leaders in Ontario, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba and Quebec.

The policy statement starts by rejecting attempts to deal with Canada's unemployment and inflation by attempts to "unleash free enterprise" or "regulate the corporations" through corporate give-aways and tax inducements.

As the policy statement notes:

"The problem 'regulators' face is that at some point when regulations mean it is more profitable to go elsewhere, private corporations will do just that. So as long as the logic of private ownership is accepted, even reluctantly as in West Germany, Sweden and Britain under social democratic governments, the governments' options are limited. At some point, the possibility of more profit elsewhere will allow a company to blackmail the government—pull back your restrictions or we will pull out of your country. The history of that threat and its effectiveness is a long and discouraging one for social democrats."

The policy statement asserts that only through public ownership of corporations is it possible to operate the economy in the interest of the majority. A mere hundred giants control 47% of all manufacturing, mining and forestry. Together with the larger banks and finance companies, and a few dozen companies in distribution, transportation and communication, they would comprise the candidates for public ownership.

Emphasizing public ownership as the only effective mechanism for reducing class and regional inequalities and escaping from industrial stagnation and multi-national domination, the statement speaks approvingly of the NDP's experience with public ownership of potash in Saskatchewan. The statement ends by calling for an industrial strategy in which public ownership becomes the major tool to plan the economy in the interest of ordinary working people.

"Effective public ownership can only become a reality when we realize that tinkering with capitalism will not produce the kind of society we want. Capitalism, regardless of the nationality of those who own, means first and last a commitment to profit-as any businessperson will gladly tell you. The choice for all of us is becoming clearer. Either big business owns government or govern,ent owns big business. As our economic crisis continues, democratic socialism is not only becoming desirable, but necessary."

Pre-Convention
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WHEREAS the private enterprise system has brought serious economic problems to Canada with record unemployment and inflation, and

WHEREAS the objectives and purposes of domestic and multinational corporations are self-serving and fail to represent the interests of the wider community, and

WHEREAS it would be foolhardy to depend on these same corporations to develop an alternative industrial strategy given their inability or unwillingness to create full employment; and

WHEREAS governments have little bargaining power with which to counter the economic power of large corporations and to force them to act in a socially responsible manner,

BE IT RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party begin developing plans for an industrial strategy in which public ownership is the major tool to control the economy for people and also a means to introduce democratic and cooperative control of the work place;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party conduct an educational campaign to promote an understanding of the reasons for increasing failures of the private enterprise economy and the ways in which public ownership of major corporations is the only effective tool to control the economy in the interests of ordinary people.

DEAD

A Simcoe, Ontario driver who suffered massive injuries when a scab drove a truck into a picket line is dead. The boss has refused to negotiate since the old contract expired in December. The members of Teamsters Local 879 want to shorten their work week from 55 to 45 hours, and they seek a wage increase. On September 12 all but three who held the picket line buried their 20-year-old brother.

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Editor: Wayne Roberts

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Chrysler crisis poses need for nationalization & Cdn car

by Gord Doctorow

The tenth largest U.S. corporation, a $14 billion multinational, is teetering on the edge of financial ruin, threatening to leave in its debris an estimated 300 to 400 thousand permanently lost jobs. Chrysler Corporation, third largest car manufacturer in the U.S., has lost $260 million in the first half of 1979. A stockpile of more than 80,000 cars and trucks valued at $700 million sit unsold in Chrysler's warehouses.

In Canada, Chysler's share of the car market is 18%. It employs 15,000 assembly-line and office workers in Ontario. Hundreds of other workers are in feeder plants—such companies as Bendix Automotive Canada, Hayes-Dana Ltd., Goodyear, and Champion Spark Plugs.

With the predator's instinct, Chrysler's president Lee Iaccoca called upon the workers of Chrysler to accept a two-year wage-and-benefit freeze to include himself and his luxuriously paid executives. This freeze would result in a 25% drop in real wages. Mr. Iaccoca, who was lured from Ford last year with a $1.5 million inducement, enjoys a salary of $360,000 a year plus bonuses and is expected to be able to weather the sacrifice. Chrysler's Canadian executives have decided to forgo this scheme.

The United Autoworkers leadership refused on the gounds that its membership would be making sacrifices to subsidize inefficient management.

Chrysler blames its $500 million-a-year losses on the high cost of implementing government regulations concerning pollution abatement equipment, work safety, equal employment, product safety, and truthful advertising. That is why the corporation has felt justified in asking the U.S. government for a two-year billion-dollar tax break amounting to an interest-free, unsecured loan at public expense.

Chrysler management conveniently forgets about the cost of poor quality control which led to the recall of almost six million cars in 1977 and 1978 and its failure to build a competitive version of an economy car in a market squeezed by soaring fuel prices. Chrysler's unsold inventory is populated by gas-guzzlers. The only economy size engines it has are imported from Volkswagen in Germany.

In Windsor, Chrysler's engine plant turns out 360-cubic-inch V-8 motors. That is why engine production is being dropped from 1,200 per day to 350. The Canada-U.S. Autopact allows Chrysler management to structure uncompetitive production in its Canadian plants, penalizing Canadian workers.

The UAW has proposed that the U.S. government bail Chrysler out by buying ownership shares in the company. This was rejected with free-enterprise platitudes by the heads of Chrysler and the U.S. government. Here in Canada Chrysler has held secret talks with the federal and Ontario governments for financial aid.

Capitalist governments in Canada and the U.S. are caught on the horns of a dilemma: to do nothing and risk a gigantic bankruptcy, or to shore up Chrysler's finances and risk setting a precedent for future rescue operations. Either way, the costs are being unloaded onto the backs of workers in terms of jobs, of higher taxes, and of cutbacks in social services.

Meanwhile, the Quebec and federal governments are negotiating a $100 million handout to GM to secure an aluminum die-casting plant in Quebec; the feds have already given Ford $68 million so it would build an engine plant in Windsor. None of this public largesse is linked to new research and development (R & D). Ford doesn't even have to purchase Canadian-manufactured parts or components.

Yet the Canadian auto parts industry suffers from inadequate R & D and lack of modernization compared to its foreign, largely U.S., competitors. Almost 90% of parts production for the auto industry in Canada is done by foreign-owned companies.

A prosperous future of stable economic planning and jobs for Canadian workers lies in the development of a Canadian car. Chrysler's crisis could be turned to our advantage through government acquisition of the corporation. With the current plant, labor, and expertise, the Chrysler operations could be retooled to produce an efficient, safe car adapted to Canadian climatic conditions. And, just as NDP Saskatchewan uses profits from its nationalized potash plants for extending its industrial development, the profits from a Canadian car company could be used to finance an extensive R & D program, and to develop a Canadian automotive parts industry, thereby wresting this facet of economic control from the U.S. corporations. The alternative prospect seems to be massive layoffs and economic stagnation leading to ruin.

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'NDP has no coherent line or convincing leadership'—MPP

Odoardo Di Santo has been elected and re-elected by the working people of the Toronto Downsview area to the NDP side of the Ontario parliament. This mid-September he circulated quite widely among party activists a document titled: **Economy, Social Issues, Political Culture and the New Democratic Party.** We have synopsized it as a service to our readers.

—The Editors.

Its aim is to "put the party in the best possible position to face the next election with reasonably good prospects. At the same time," he writes, "it is urgent to analyze the causes of our malaise, the reasons why the party is at a standstill and what steps ought to be taken to re-invigorate its stature and its political grasp."

Di Santo scorns as "incredible that some members of the leadership group see the crisis of the party as due to a lack of 'issues'! The lack of issues is the result of the poverty of cultural commitment by the party to a thorough study of social reality. This situation of cultural and intellectual confusion results in an ambiguous, sporadic form of leadership which lacks credibility."

Di Santo sees a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, with the recession now in full swing in the U.S.A., having serious repercussions, the energy crisis hitting the auto industry, the GATT agreements crippling some industries such as textiles and petrochemicals, and the international crisis undermining the advantages which a devalued dollar offered certain sectors of the economy.

"The advocates of free enterprise will make a concerted effort," he warns, "to shift the burden of the crisis on the workers, the consumers, the recipients of social services and in general on the weaker and less protected groups of our society."

While Di Santo sees the developing economic crisis and its social consequences requiring the party to elaborate a global strategy he records the party's political line over the past year and a half as "hesitating and ambiguous," and even "ineffectual, because it lacked a clear stategic line." He claims that the "party slowly abandoned the ground on which it had fought its greatest battles, an area encompassing social and human themes, while agonizing whether to adopt an economic approach."

"The lack of an adequate cultural dimension is evident: the absence of an internal debate, the paucity of social analysis and the fragmented and inorganic character of our political action. This is clearly indicated by our vacillations vis-a-vis themes that require complex and well-elaborated answers: unemployment, environment, bilingualism, multiculturalism, nuclear safety, economic development, etc."

Di Santo sees the party as being "on the defensive", as "searching for scapegoats for our lack of success, seeing everywhere conservative resistance... totally unprepared in perceiving and assessing what is new and changing in our society".

Whereas "ever-changing society.. presents us with progressive demands which cut across several social strata. It is sufficient to point out the nature of the aggregation of different groups and social strata over themes such as pollution, nuclear safety, civil rights, energy conservation and economic development."

Commenting on the relationship of the NDP to the labor movement he notes that on the one hand "the NDP seems to reject the 'laborization' of the party, for fear of losing the support of social groups who do not identify themselves with the working class and the labor movement, especially among the middle classes. On the other hand, the labor movement offers the party its financial and electoral support, but fails to participate in the daily life of the party and in the elaboration of its programmatic and legislative platform.

"What strikes me," writes Di Santo, "as more serious is the reluctance of the labor movement to engage its membership in political struggles," however he notes "positive signs of change in direction, mostly from the side of the labor movement".

He singles out for special attention the adoption by the delegates to the 1976 Quebec City CLC convention of the declaration in Labor's Manifesto to "forge the power to create a socialist democracy" in Canada, and the joint efforts of the labor movement with the federal party to undertake political education as exemplified in the last federal election. "However," he warns, "it must not assume a purely electoral form, but must turn into a concerted action aimed at politicizing workers and promoting their participation in the resolution of the great problems affecting our society."

Di Santo sees new and inspiring possibilities of alliances with other social forces guided by a strong sense of social justice, once the centrality of the working class has been accepted."

He singles out the youth for special attention. "Today, young people have the highest rate of unemployment (which) springs from the type of economic growth promoted by Canadian governments, both federal and provincial. In fact, the branch plant economy and the lack of Research and Development (we paid $230 million in R&D to the U.S. automobile industry alone) create few opportunities at managerial and executive levels. Most of our youth who come out of universities are doomed to be either unemployed or employed at jobs which will use hardly any of the skills which they have."

"We have failed to understand the tragedy of today's youth," he warns... "As a consequence our political work has been either completely inadequate, or fragmentary, if not outright contradictory. We have not succeeded in mobilizing students at all levels, by interpreting their apprehensions, their problems and their needs..."

"The same critique is valid for our policies toward women. Our work has been mainly geared toward the 'liberation' of women from their historical subordination to men, while we have left aside the discussion of forms of exploitation as a structural component of our capitalist society; sweat shops, piece work, domestic labor, underpayments, etc."

While postponing the taking up of the complex question of ethnic groups Di Santo points out the importance of the ethnic vote in both the party's recent electoral successes and failures, and "that the base of our party has shifted considerably... most of our support comes from Catholic immigrants."

Di Santo declares that "the lack of a serious, intellectual and cultural strategy has had extremely negative consequences for the party. Its political work has become increasingly weaker and ineffectual and has contributed to dilute the very identity of the party itself. The doubt over our lost identity is troubling more and more members and sympathizers. This is perhaps the reason we are losing support amongst some marginal social groups which although not social democratic themselves, would perceive the NDP as an effective agent of social change and a champion of civil rights and of struggles for social justice.

"Lacking a clear analysis and deep cultural commitment, we have found ourselves reacting on a day-to-day basis, without expressing a coherent political line and, above all, without offering a convincing leadership."

Di Santo's concept of the crisis of leadership encompasses the party as a whole— "all the structures of the party, from the grass roots up... i.e. the political presence that is identified as the NDP."

"Personally," writes Di Santo, "I feel that the type of leadership which we have offered on themes of great importance has created the impression that the party did not have a clear economic strategy, but pre-

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Odoardo Di Santo

tended to have one. In fact, the issues that were tackled, even though valid if taken individually, lacked the internal cohesion which only a clear leadership can offer. The deficiency in cultural inquiry, the want of an analysis of the 'emergent' themes, the lack of cohesive leadership have resulted in dismay and bewilderment, not only among the members of the provincial parliament, but also among the executive members and the base. It has resulted in a sense of distrust within the labor movement and a loss of credibility among the public who view the NDP as an unlikely alternative to the current government."

"In order to get over the present impasse," he challenges, "it is imperative that the party find itself a new cultural dimension. Secondly it must review the record of leadership and decide whether to stake its future primarily on the issue of leadership, or the collective action of the party capable of involving not only the Caucus, but also the entire party structure, from the executive to the riding associations, to a strengthening of its ties with the labor movement through a clear political strategy.

"We should also start promoting debates, conferences, public forums around relevant issues, inviting people or groups outside the party who because of tactical affinities may be attracted to discuss and possibly to join forces with us.

"These actions," he cautions, "ought not to be undertaken individually and in isolation. They could only produce frustration and discouragement. They ought to be the result of a clear and cohesive political strategy."

Metro Toronto Blacks protest police racism

The killing of Jamaican-born Albert Johnson in his own home and before his 7-year-old daughter has roused a powerful protest from the long aggrieved and growing black movement in the Metro Toronto area and from wide numbers of civil rights supporters. Over 2,000 people marched for eight hours and over an 8-mile route in central Toronto, and through an impromptu collection turned over $2,000 to the Johnson family.

The Johnson killing caused the widespread, long smouldering conviction that the Toronto police commission is racist and shoot-first-question-after to flare up. The city council itself voted "its lack of confidence in the ability of our present Board of Commissioners of Police to initiate positive reforms or effectively respond to our community needs to give the Police Department the leadership it deserves."

Some 500 attended a September 11 Albert Johnson Benefit Concert, raised $1,625, and passed the following demands to be presented to the attorney-general:

- Establishment of an independent civilian review board with its own independent investigators.
- Responsibility for the Metro Police to be turned over to the democratically elected representatives of Metro Toronto as a Committee of Metro Council.
- Criminal charges to be laid against the persons involved in the shooting of Albert Johnson.
- Charges to be laid against Staff Superintendent Shultz under the Police Act for racist comments attributed to him.

Wife of NDP MLA Orlikow abused in CIA brain-washing

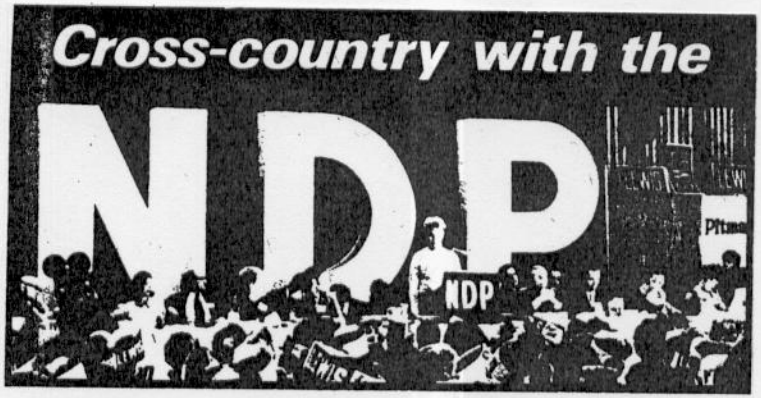
The Quebec Superior Court has opened hearings on a $90,980 suit by Val Orlikow against the Royal Victoria Hospital in Montreal for sufferings she alleges she underwent in 1956-1964 while a patient of the late Ewen Cameron, a respected and eminent psychiatrist sometimes known as the father of Canadian psychiatry. The wife of the NDP MP from Winnipeg North was used by Cameron as a human guinea pig. Cameron's research project with the controversial hallucinogenic drug LSD was funded by the Society to Investigate Human Ecology—since revealed to have been a "front" financed by the CIA.

Val Orlikow alleges Cameron's treatment amounted to "fraud" which was both "illegal and dangerous." She also alleges that certain "horror-ridden incidents which continue to plague her" were part of a program to obtain experimental treatment information for the CIA which was funding Cameron's work under the code name MK Ultra Subproject 68.

The CIA has admitted the existence of the project which is said to have been part of a $25 million cold war effort that included drugs, hypnosis, psycho-surgery, electroshock and involved as many as 60 universities in 21 countries. It is not yet known whether other Canadian medical practitioners and facilities were used by the U.S. super-spy operation.

Orlikow remained a patient, one of 52 others in Cameron's Montreal project, which involved the world-renown Allan Memorial Institute, the psychiatric facility affiliated with both McGill University and the Royal Victoria Hospital, until 1964. Cameon resigned that year and retired to the U.S. where he died in 1967. Orlikow is the only patient so far identified and to have taken legal action.

On August 9 the United States Congress passed a private bill, allegedly to evade a long-drawn-out court case but possibly to minimize public attention, that would pay $1.7 million to a former U.S. army private James Thornwell. Thornwell was administered LSD in a secret army experiment in 1961 while in Orleans, France, which according to a judge rendered him a social and economic cripple. He learned that he had been used as a human guinea pig only through legal moves to gain access to the army report two years ago.



Parrot addresses Hamilton

by Wayne Roberts

The highlight of the Hamilton Labor Day Rally by all counts was the speech by postal workers leader Jean-Claude Parrot. His ungarnished and sober appeal for a united and militant struggle against the bosses and the former-Liberal-now-Tory federal government was what unionists and supporters who had gathered in the city hall square after the march wanted to hear, as they demonstrated with enthusiastic and resounding applause and cheers.

Members of the Hamilton West NDP distributed the rally with copies of their newsletter which invited the audience to attend their meeting that evening which featured Parrot was guest speaker. At the meeting Parrot said that the NDP is too "namby-pamby", in his criticism of the party's leaders for their evasion of the issue of the government's strike-breaking back-to-work law against the postal workers, during their federal election campaign.

"As long as you are afraid to take a stand on anything controversial you will always remain a third party in Canadian politics," he warned Hamilton NDPers.

Effective action in N. York

A walking tour of the posh North York Bridle Path-Post Road area organized by NDP Ward 5 Alderman Mike Foster has really riled Mayor Mel (THE MOUTH) millionaire Lastman and his corporate welfare bum friends living in the area.

The tour, joined by some 60 citizens passed the back of the mayor's $1 million home and across the front of the 60 acre estate owned by Argus Corporation president Conrad Black. Foster stopped to tell the walkers that the average homeowner in North York with a 50 foot lot (about one-seventh of one acre) pays about $1,128. Black, with 45 times as much land, pays only 7 times the taxes.

Showing how the rich live off the poor, Ward 8, in which this neighborhood is situated, has a residential density of 9.8 units per acre and returns $17.25 million in taxes or $5,118 per acre while Ward 5 with a density of 25.5 units per acre returns $28 million in taxes or $6,601 per acre.

As an encore Foster plans to lead a walking tour of North York's notorious ghetto area at Jane and Finch.

Protests bias for US profs

NDP MP David Orlikow for Winnipeg North has resigned his long-held appointment on the Board of Governors of the University of Manitoba. According to Orlikow, who has fought for regulations to ensure that Canadian academics are given first crack at vacancies, non-Canadians, many of them U.S. academics, continue to get preference for some jobs.

Raising the political level

by Dale Ritch

Over the summer the Dovercourt NDP, as part of its ongoing program of social, political and educational activities for members and supporters, presented a series of classes on the history of the NDP from a class struggle point of view titled **An Introduction to the NDP.**

Held at the community office of the riding association on Friday evenings, the classes attracted an audience which averaged about 25 and which was a good mix of veteran activists and new supporters. The 60 minute presentations worked out well and were followed up by discussions in small groups.

Bob Storey introduced the first topic—**The Left in Canada up to 1930.** The talk covered the early attempts to organize trade unions and the early socialist groups which were predominately Marxist. Other important landmarks noted were the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, the election of J.S. Woodsworth shortly after, and early attempts of labor and socialist currents to run independent candidates for various levels of government.

In the second class, Ross Sutherland dealt with the CCF. He examined the farmer-labor forces which forged the coalition that resulted in the adoption of the Regina Manifesto and the formation of the CCF in 1933. Ross focused on the contradictory character of the CCF from its inception. On the one hand a strong vision of radical change of the social system and an emphasis on commitment and activism of its members; on the other an almost mystical belief in the ability of socialist education and of a small group of planners and technocrats to bring about fundamental change of the system coupled with a lack of understanding of either the class struggle or the capitalist state.

The third discussion led by Luc Aujame, dealt with—**The Death of the CCF and the birth of the new party.** Consistant and determined attempts by the central party leadership to water down the program and radical image of the CCF resulted in the dumping of public ownership as a central core of the party program in the adoption of the Winnipeg Declaration in 1956. Then in 1961 the NDP and the major forces of the trade union movement joined to launch the NDP.

The fourth class was presented by Jim Turk on **The NDP: the Right and Left Fight it out.** Jim dealt primarily with the rapid and spectacular rise and fall of the Waffle Group beginning in 1969 and ending in 1972 with the Waffle under attack and leaving the NDP to set up the Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada.

While pointing out the Waffle's positive contribution by raising important issues such as public ownership, foreign control of the economy, women's rights and Quebec, and highlighting the strong support of Waffle received from the rank and file NDPer, Jim noted some of the errors made by the Waffle including the lack of a democratic structure, its failure to involve itself in embedding riding associations in the community and local unions and, its overemphasis on the national at the expense of the class question.

In the final class, **Where do we go from here,** a number of opinions were presented on the future direction of the NDP and its left wing currents.

forward
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Ontario Royal Commission hears Dowson

Rebut RCMP slanders

Ross Dowson

Dowson's $500,000 slander suit against the RCMP has the support of such famed international figures as Benjamin Spock, Nancy Mitford, Noam Chomsky and Linus Pauling. Among the growing list of Canadian sponsors are such cultural figures as Margaret Laurence, Joe Rosenblatt, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Al Purdy, Douglas Campbell, unionists as Sam Fox, Grace Hartman, Pat Kerwin, Terry Meagher, lawyers as Mary Boyce, Clayton Ruby, Charles Roach, Ken Danson joined this month by Michael Mandel and H.J. Glasbeek, and politicians as Andrew Brewin, Cy Gonick, J.L. Skosberg, etc., etc.

Kopyto: Well, I think it might be useful to move towards concluding your comments. But if there is some other important point—

Dowson. Yes. There are a couple of comments which Mister Krever himself raised and I would like to answer them. I appreciate, sir, that you have moved off, some degrees off the immediate terms of reference of the Commission, but the RCMP's line of questioning of Mr. Riddell and Mr. Steele has made a lot of things relevant to the Commission's hearing and I think you yourself have, in your search for some of my and other persons' views.

For instance, you made a statement in the record here, sir, that, "wouldn't Leon Trotsky turn over in his grave if he had heard his name being associated with a group that says the change in society is to come about by free elections". I gather you think that's what Mister Riddell said. That socialism would come about by free elections. I would like to comment on this.

Preparing a long leash

The real view of socialists explained on range of issues

With this third instalment we complete Ross Dowson's testimony of this Spring before the Ontario Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Confidentiality of Health Records.

Dowson's testimony not only constituted a powerful indictment of the RCMP and its longstanding harassment of the trade union and socialist movements under the trumped-up allegation that they are "violence prone" and "subversive"—that is, "advocate social change by violent and undemocratic means." In the process it also witnessed top officers of the RCMP admitting that, in implementing a federal government "mandate" that legitimatized a campaign of "dirty tricks" designed to disrupt the labor and socialist movement, the RCMP actually committed acts of forgery and communicated false messages in violation of the Criminal Code of Canada, specifically Sections 324 and 330, which they are sworn to enforce.

Within the framework imposed by the inquiry Dowson also made a significant contribution to the clarification of socialist ideas on a wide range of matters: on the relationship of socialist formations to the mass movements of the working class, the trade unions and labor party formations such as the NDP, on the socialist aim to end class antagonisms and conflicts, on social revolution and violence, on the liberatory democratic objective of socialism, etc. Copies of the two previous instalments can be obtained by writing **Forward**, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ont.

When the 14-month-long public hearings wound to a close on July 4 they left pending an RCMP appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada that it not be compelled to comply with a lower court ruling to turn over to the Commission the names of doctors and health officials who violated patients' rights by giving the RCMP confidential health information. Last month Mr. Justice McIntyre gave the provincial attorneys-general until September 10 to decide whether to participate in the important constitutional matter involved in the RCMP's appeal.

Immediately upon the RCMP's admission that they had violated the Criminal Code, Dowson's lawyer, Harry Kopyto, appealed to Ontario Attorney-General Roy McMurtry to launch proceedings against the RCMP. Enquiries from the Ontario NDP parliamentary caucus have forced the attorney-general's office to issue an assurance that it will announce its decision on this matter before the end of September. The Canadian Civil Liberties Association, which had earlier demanded, on the basis of testimony before the McDonald Commission, that the RCMP be prosecuted for its violations of the Criminal Code, is watching this matter.

Cdn-Palestine bulletin issued

The **Palestine Human Rights Bulletin** is a welcome addition to the Canadian political scene. An off-shoot of a similar bulletin published in the U.S., the Palestine Human Rights Campaign has been publishing the bulletin since February 1979 and has already published half a dozen issues, containing reports on the suppression of human rights within Israel.

The bulletin sees as its purposes to promote the investigation, publication, and understanding of violations of Palestinian human rights within Israel, to lend support to the victims and their attorneys, and to secure the enforcement of existing internationally recognized norms of human rights and fundamental freedoms for the Palestinian people.

Recent issues of the bulletin have contained difficult-to-obtain information concerning the status of Palestinian prisoners in Israel's jails, including first hand reports from numerous individuals who have suffered persecution for their political views by the Israeli state, articles on the infamous policy of collective punishment which the Israeli state has adopted in the occupied territory, and numerous reports on the closing of Bir Zeit University in the West Bank as a result of occupation by the Israeli military last May. The bulletin publicized the arrest of Dr. Uri Davis a well-known Hebrew anti-zionist who recently toured Canada, upon his return to Israel in May of this year.

In addition to providing an important source of information concerning a continuing area of conflict in the world, the bulletin also opens the possibility of reaching out with the truth about the Palestinian struggle beyond the Arabic community and of dealing specifically with Canada and its complicity in the oppression of the Palestinian people. Future issues may be obtained by writing:

P.O. Box 5165
Station "A"
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1N5.

Last chance to kick in your share

As we draw the Forward Fund Drive to a close, our donations register $3,500.00 of our $5,000.00 goal. And we make one last appeal to supporters, after the summer hiatus, to contribute to the fund drive.

Forward is now in its fifth year of publishing. Throughout its last five years it has played a singular role in expressing the Marxist viewpoint within the NDP, the mass political expression of the Canadian working class movement, and in general across Canada on behalf of militants and socialists.

With as yet no new organized voice of the left presenting itself within the NDP, **Forward** still remains the only source of news, views, and contact among the disparate elements making up the NDP left. We need your help to keep it coming out so we can continue to make it available to anyone and everyone who wants to utilize it for promoting socialism.

We must continue to meet all the routine costs of setting it, laying it out and printing it which continue to mount because of inflation. And we need your special help to overcome what the Canadian trade union press has condemned as a new "form of covert censorship" — continual mounting postal costs. As you have probably noted, your single third class copy now comes to you with 15 cents worth of stamps on it—and our bundles going to persons who help us circulate it on a broader scale have gone up much more.

As the Canadian Association of Labour Media, representing 60 trade union publications, noted just prior to last April's mailing rate increase, "mailing costs are to a point when the future of our publications are in jeopardy." The April increase went through, and now "going metric" has added on another increase. Noting that third class mail is the only category which the government has ruled must pay for itself—all other categories are heavily subsidized from the public treasury—CALM observes that within the two year period prior to April, bulk rates increased by 50%. **Forward** is compelled to operate under third class rates because our press run is so many more times than our subscriber base, necesarily so as we must use **Forward** to intervene in the continually new expressions and forces of radicalization with mass distributions such as at the anti-Darlington nuclear power site, anti-cutback demonstrations, etc.

CALM sees the postal increases as bringing "us closer to the loss of a vital labour press." **Forward** is not going under—by any means—but it needs your help. With your help we will continue and, we hope, will improve **Forward**. Our goal this year is once again $5,000, not that we do not need more—but that is a good foundation upon which we can build to meet the challenges of the coming year. Send your cheque or money order to **Forward Fund Drive, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, M5C 2K1**—postdated cheques are quite acceptable. And while you are at it tell us what you think of the paper—what we are doing right and what we are doing wrong—and how we can improve.

Resolution on Justice

as adopted by the assembled delegates at the

New Democratic Party

Tenth Federal Convention

Toronto November 22-25, 1979

WHEREAS the past several years have revealed that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police through its security service operations has carried on a policy of systematically harassing, frustrating, destabilizing and disrupting the activities of completely legitimate dissident and protest organizations including provincial federations of labour such as the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, interfering in various activities including the presidential elections within the Canadian Union of Public Employees, internal affairs of the B.C. and Ontario New Democratic Parties; and

WHEREAS it is a matter of public record that officials of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have violated a wide variety of criminal code sections including those dealing with arson, break and enter, forgery, public mischief and assault; and

WHEREAS Canada remains unique within the Commonwealth countries in retaining sections within its Official Secrets Act and Federal Court Act which effectively gives the government the right to withhold from judicial and public scrutiny almost any document of its choosing under the excuse of "national security" considerations,

1. THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the new Democratic Party call for all operations of the security service of the RCMP which harass legal dissident organizations, the labour movement, the New Democratic Party and other political parties to be terminated immediately and that the full truth about such past harassment be made public,

2. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party call for the immediate prosecution of all members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who are alleged to have violated criminal law and that if their illegal actions are found to have been authorized by Solicitors-General that the rule of law apply and that such Solicitors-General not be considered immune from such prosecution,

3. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Federal Court Act be amended to remove the government's right to withhold government documents from judicial scrutiny solely on the basis of an affidavit filed by the government,

4. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Official Secrets Act be amended so that the right to public trial is affirmed and so that miscarriages of justice, such as that exemplified in the prosecution of Peter Treu, will no longer be possible.

5. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the party encourage support for a variety of efforts directed towards establishing the legitimacy of dissident, socialist and Marxist thought, including the efforts of Professor Andre Gunder Frank to obtain full travelling rights within Canada and the legal suit of Ross Dowson for slander against RCMP allegations that he and other Waffle supporters and members were subversive,

6. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the New Democratic Party support the implementation of a real Freedom of Information Act which includes the right of independent appeal, places the onus for proving why documents should not be released upon the government agency wishing secrecy, and provides very narrow and clearly defined exemptions,

7. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that locally elected Police Review Commissions be established and that these committees have the power to investigate complaints against the RCMP.

5. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the party encourage support for a variety of efforts directed towards establishing the legitimacy of dissident, socialist and Marxist thought, including the efforts of Professor Andre Gunder Frank to obtain full travelling rights within Canada and the legal suit of Ross Dowson for slander against RCMP allegations that he and other Waffle supporters and members were subversive,

Nation

TORONTO STAR, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1979

Mountie secrets given to Crown ruled privileged

By Rick Brennan Toronto Star

In a precedent-setting decision, a federal court judge has ruled that information provided to the Crown by Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers performing their duty is protected by absolute privilege.

Mr. Justice Campbell Grant yesterday dismissed a motion brought by the former leader of a left-wing radical group wanting to sue the RCMP because it prepared a report on the group for the Ontario attorney-general

The court was told in November that Ross Dowson, former chairman and executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action, felt his reputation was damaged by the report read by Attorney-General Roy McMurtry in the Legislature December, 1977.

Outraged by decision

Dowson's lawyer Harry Kopyto argued that the report implied members of the group were subversives. Dowson filed suit against the RCMP for $500,000, damages. Kopyto has filed to appeal the judgment.

Kopyto said the RCMP gave R. M. McLeod, assistant attorney-general for Ontario, "slanderous" information about the League for Socialist Action, knowing full well that it would be repeated in the Legislature and subsequently picked up by the news media.

"I am satisfied . . . that such words complained of were spoken by such officers at that time on an occasion of absolute privilege," Grant said in his judgment.

Dowson told The Star last night he was outraged by the judge's decision.

"It permits the RCMP to accuse anybody of being a subversive," he said.

Toronto lawyer Pierre Genest, representing the federal government, said last night that it is the first time a court in Canada has ruled on whether communication by police acting for the Crown is protected.

The report, asked for by then New Democratic Party leader Stephen Lewis, was tabled by McMurtry to answer allegations that some Ontario New Democrats were investigated by the RCMP in the early '70s.

The report, which then Solicitor-General Francis Fox directed the RCMP to prepare, acknowledged the allegations and said that "subversive elements penetrated the NDP through the Waffle in order to gain respectability, credibility and influence."

The radical Waffle group developed in the early '70s shortly after Lewis became leader but the Waffle was expelled from the party at a subsequent NDP convention.

The RCMP report said the Waffle invited persons outside the NDP to join its ranks. "These persons included ex-members of the Communist Party of Canada and members of the Trotskyist movement. The leaders for the League for Socialist Action (Trotskyists), in fact, directed their members to join the Waffle group."

'A matter of state'

Genest argued before the federal court in November that the statement "concerned a matter of state and was made on behalf of the solicitor-general of Canada: and therefore is not actionable."

The NDP at its 10th federal convention in November passed a resolution supporting Dowson's legal action against the RCMP.

FLASH—Early this April or May will see the appeal against Federal Court Judge Grant's ruling come before three Federal Court judges, according to lawyer Harry Kopyto, representing Ross Dowson in his slander suit against the RCMP. Both Dowson and the RCMP have filed appeals to the Federal Court of Appeal—the latter to have the entire action dismissed. While Judge Campbell's ruling permits the Dowson suit to continue Dowson is appealing his ruling that the Crown is immune to being sued — which gives the RCMP the right to call anyone "subversive" with impunity and covers up its interference in the New Democratic Party and against the radical and labor movement generally.

The Socialist Rights Defence Fund which has won the support of many leading U.S. and Canadian politicians, labor leaders and intellectuals, is launching a new campaign for funds to meet its accumulating legal and publicity expenses—and to prepare to carry the case forward to the Supreme Court of Canada, if necessary.

The SRDF is also considering publication of a pamphlet on the case which would include Dowson's testimony before the Royal Commission into the Confidentiality of Health Records in Ontario. The Honourable Mr. Justice Horace Krever, who headed the commission, in thanking Dowson for bringing certain material to the committee's attention, commented: 'I haven't heard such an enlightening discussion on Marxism for perhaps twenty-five or thirty years.''

OPTION FOR CANADA
AN NDP CONVENTION DISCUSSION PAPER NOV. 1979

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"Masters In Our Own House"

by Wayne Roberts

This convention of the NDP meets at a time when the constitutional basis of the country is being challenged from every direction.

It is a humiliating situation. Although it has not been recorded in the BNA Act, Canada has lost its economic sovereignty to U.S. multinationals, and its military sovereignty to U.S.-dominated alliances like NATO/NORAD. It is recorded in the BNA Act that the provincial premiers and federal prime ministers cannot even get together to bring the consitution home. It is also on record that provinces and the federal government can't come to agreement on a pressing issue like the division of resource revenues.

In the midst of this disintegration, and to protect themselves from bearing the brunt of this disintegration, the Native People and Dene are demanding their constitutional rights as a founding people. And while Clark fiddles with Lougheed, the countdown is near on the Quebec referendum for sovereignty association. As all observers admit, the sovereignty option is gaining ground. Even if it loses, the Quebec question will not be settled, since Claude Ryan, the great white hope of the federalists has also served notice of demands for major constitutional revision.

How well has the NDP responded to this multi-levelled crisis? What has it done to turn this crisis into a challenge and opportunity for Canada's working people?

Judging from the number of resolutions on federal-provincial relations that have been submitted to this convention, New Democrats from across the country are taking their responsibility seriously. Judging from the content of these resolutions, many New Democrats are questioning the positions being taken by NDP public spokesmen.

Quite frankly, the contributors to this NDP convention discussion paper are disappointed with the response of NDP leaders. We believe, furthermore, that the NDP must rethink its positions on Quebec and Canada's constitutional future in a fundamental way. This tabloid is an attempt, by a group of otherwise politically unrelated party members and supporters (including one person who is a very severe critic), to lay the basis for the kind of discussion the NDP needs to have if we are to resolve the issues carefully, democratically, and in the interests of party development and growth. It is not overstating the case to say that without a correct position on Quebec, the party will never develop a base in Quebec or be able to offer leadership to the people of Canada.

When Stephen Lewis was leader of the Ontario party, he spoke to a provincial council meeting about the problems facing a pro-federalist politician. "Clamouring for unity is easy. Speaking in wholesome generalities about anything is something that any politician can do at any time. In present circumstances, however, all of that seems somewhat irrelevant."

To get to the relevant issues, we must first start by recognizing, as did the founding and the 1972 conventions of the party, that Quebec is not just a province, but a nation. Its people share not only a territory, but a common language, culture and heritage. The sense of nationalism which these people share is not, as Pierre Trudeau insists, a racialist crime against humanity. Rather, as Ed Broadbent argued during the televised election debate, it is a positive spirit. In fact, Broadbent roused audiences across the country by echoing the stirring slogan of Quebec nationalists during the 1960s. We want to be "masters in our own house," Broadbent argued, in motivating his industrial strategy for Canadian economic sovereignty.

Secondly, the people of Quebec are not only a nation, but an oppressed nation. Quebeckers, along with everyone else, were denied a referendum when they were first brought into Confederation. Lacking the national power to express their national aspirations, locked into a state which subjects them to the will of others in questions of eco-

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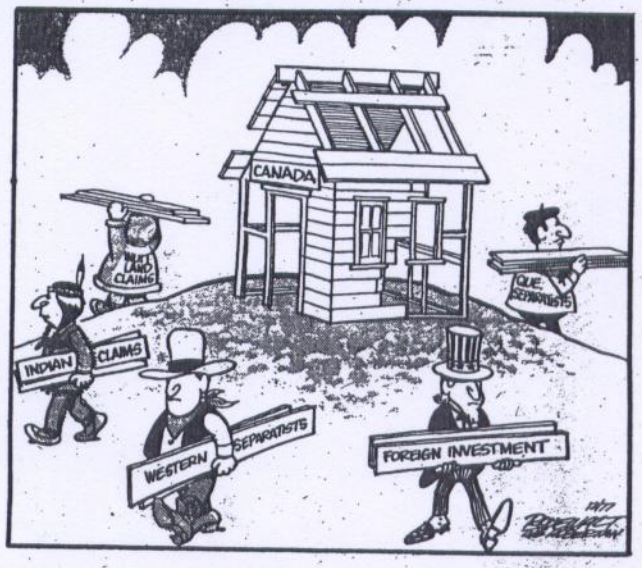


...Resolution...

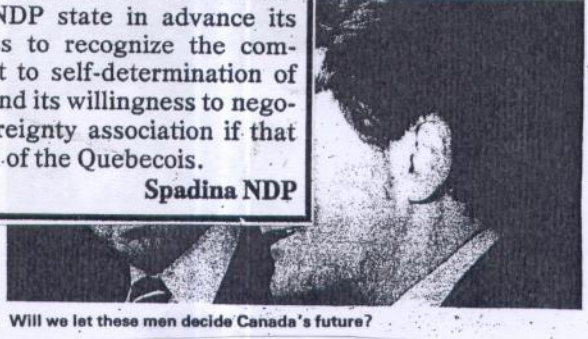
WHEREAS the NDP has long recognized that the people of Quebec constitute a nation; and

WHEREAS various federalist efforts at language, cultural and constitutional reform have failed to satisfy the nationalist aspirations of the most dynamic elements of Quebec society; and

WHEREAS the people of Quebec will be deciding on their constitutional options in a forthcoming referendum,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP state in advance its willingness to recognize the complete right to self-determination of Quebec, and its willingness to negotiate sovereignty association if that be the will of the Quebecois.

Spadina NDP



Will we let these men decide Canada's future?

Canadians and Québécois will always be countrymen

by Skip Hambling

These are the times that try men's souls: The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.

Those words, written by Thomas Paine in the midst of the American war for independence from Britain, are credited with stiffening the resolve of the American patriots in the darkest moment of their fight for sovereign nationhood.

Irony not withstanding, these American words seem perfectly suited to the festering question of Canadian nationhood as the Parti Quebecois launches its formal campaign to separate in some manner the province of Quebec from the rest of Canada.

There are at least two reasons to find Paine's words attractive today: one factual, the other emotional.

It is a fact that these are the times in Canada that do "try men's souls." What Canada needs now is neither summer soldiers nor sunshine patriots.

What Canada needs is people struck with the vision and honest emotion caught in Paine's words. We have had enough of mean-mindedness and the doctrine of the scholar and technocrat. We need to catch the spirit of a nation. And we need to understand and allow others that same spirit.

If the citizens of Quebec decide now their destiny does not lie in union with Canada, by what right do we deny them that vision? By how much do we betray our own mean natures and feeble belief in our own nationhood by seeing their separation as prologue to our necessary decline?

Conversely, by how much do we esteem ourselves to acknowledge in fact a people's right to self-determination, to accept some reworking of our Canadian confederation, up to and including the separation of Quebec?

These questions take on heightened significance for democratic socialists.

As democrats, the right of a people to freely decide their own destiny must remain inalienable.

As socialists, a Canada separated from Quebec only moves the socialist imperative along. In a reworked Canada the need for us to fully control our economic and social destiny will become unrelenting. The social democratic alternative will become irresistable.

But all the hair pulling and gnashing of teeth over this matter is really beside the point. No one yet has confronted the chilling question of what Canada is to do if and when we force Quebec to present us with a unilateral declaration of independence.

Would we invade Quebec with our army? Are we ready to occupy a territory and hold people by force who we cannot win over through negotiation and compromise? And if we were to move to that extremity, what would we have gained having lost the hearts and minds of the people there.

The reality is that there is no choice. Practically and morally, there is no way to hold Quebec should they decide to go.

Canada will exist, with or without political union with Quebec. Canada, any true nation, is first and last a state of mind where borders, geography, distance are of no real consequence. And a nation that does not live in the hearts and minds of her people will not survive despite all the documents and paper covenants on earth.

"My country is not a country; it's the winter. My garden is not a garden; it's the plain. My road isn't a road; it's the snow." Gilles Vigneault, a Quebecois wrote these words.

He and I will always be countrymen, regardless of what the atlas says.

[Skip Hambling is the editor of the Saskatchewan NDP's Common Wealth].

FOR THE NDP AND SOCIALISM

forward

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Behind US hate Iran hysteria

by the Editors

Liberal leader Trudeau's observation that government heads of the rest of the capitalist world are far from taking a united stand behind U.S. President Carter on Iran did not cause him to explain why this is so, or even suggest that it might have any relevance at all to Canada's commitments. It did not stop him for one moment from shamelessly underwriting the U.S. State Department's bellicose threats and massive build up of power that could set afire and turn the Middle East into a raging inferno. When he was in power, he went all the way with LBJ into the Vietnam holocaust. Now as opposition leader he warns not the swashbuckling U.S. but tiny Iran that it should see any future action it may take such as placing a U.S. hostage on trial (even a CIA agent) "in terms of future peace in the world."

The Clark government's ambassador to the UN has joined in on the condemnation of the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Teheran to also brush aside "consideration to the concerns of the government of Iran." As if it were a matter of course, "Canada shares completely the American sense of outrage at the abandonment by Iran of its solemn obligations under international law... Once the threat to diplomatic personnel and premises has been removed," said this petty sycophant, like an official mouthpiece of the U.S., then and only then will "consideration to the concerns of the government of Iran" be given.

Just what are Iran's concerns that other matters can be used to push them so casually aside? First and foremost the Iranians have insisted that their demand that the Shah be returned to their country be acceded to, so he can be placed on trial for the crimes—if the scope of which are in question—the entire world knows he committed. It was this law of extradition, so sanctified in relations between nations, that Ottawa bowed before when it turned Native leader Leonard Pelletier over to the tender mercies of U.S. prison authorities.

The Iranians are demanding that the billions of dollars that the Shah received in bribes and looted from the Iranian public treasury, be returned. And they are demanding that the U.S. State Department and its corporate masters get out, and keep out, of the internal affairs of their country.

This is exactly what the Carter and previous U.S. administrations have never done and are not doing now. Even though the Shah fell before the wrath of his own people, he has not given up his claims to the throne upon which he was placed by British and American imperialism. And he has not sought official asylum anywhere. That is not in the game plan of the Rockefellers and Kissingers. The U.S. is

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Quebec prepares to choose future

by John Darling

With the release of the Parti Québécois White Paper on sovereignty-association, English Canada has the most comprehensive answer yet to the old question: What Does Quebec Want? The Québécois have the clearest explanation to date of the meaning of a "yes" vote in the coming referendum.

Federalists up to now have repeatedly complained that sovereignty-association was incomprehensible, or a ploy to disguise the PQ's real independentism. Reading the White Paper, everyone knows now for sure that sovereignty-association is rational and workable, and that the PQ is indeed independentist.

In its "Call to the People of Quebec", the White Paper summons them to their "historic rendezvous" by voting yes in the referendum. "For generations and against all odds, we have maintained an identity that sets us apart in North America. We did this after the defeat, then in the assembly of Lower Canada, we did it despite being crushed in 1837 and under the Act of Union,

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TAKE YOUR COUNTRY INTO YOUR OWN HANDS—reads a poster promoting Quebec national sovereignty.

Left launched at NDP convention

by the Editors

"I am very glad that this debate took place. I have friends on both sides of the debate... It brought joy to my heart." Ed Broadbent, unanimously re-elected as party leader at the NDP's federal convention in Toronto, heartened the final session of the convention with his thanks to delegates for developing a program which clearly distinguishes the NDP from the indistinguishable Liberals and Tories. He adopted a conciliatory posture to those who had debated on behalf of an even clearer alternative to Liberals and Tories—the alternative of public ownership.

These concluding remarks to the convention represented quite a remarkable shift from the speech he made to a federal council meeting five days earlier. On the eve of the convention, he intervened at federal council to argue in the strongest terms for a convention that would minimize debate and highlight the party's public image of internal

by the Editors

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In the four days that separated these two speeches, 1200 delegates, attending the largest NDP convention ever, discussed and debated the basic problems confronting the party. In the course of those four days, a left caucus emerged with a cross-Canada base in the constituencies, union affiliates and parliamentary caucuses. This left-wing earned the respect of the party by posing challenging new directions

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Dowson suit against RCMP awaits federal court ruling

(See W12)

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urt Justice Campbell ruling as to whether 's slander suit against proceed to trial, some er it was initiated, or uphold the RCMP's ve it dismissed as vexolous. The entire day's e federal court in Tornber 6 was taken up by nts presented by the yer Pierre Genest and Kopyto on behalf of

arose when Ontario At-torney-General McMurtry responded to the Ontario NDP leader's inquiry as to whether the RCMP had ever investigated the NDP. McMurtry issued a statement to the house, which, was released to the press, containing a summary of information provided by RCMP officials to the effect that the NDP had been inves-

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NDP convention supports law-suit against RCMP

The delegates assembled in plenary session at the NDP's 10th federal convention held in Toronto November 22-25 adopted a far ranging seven point resolution on Justice.

It calls: for the immediate termination of all operations of the security service of the RCMP which harass legal dissident organizations, the labor movement, the NDP and other political parties, for the immediate prosecution of the RCMPers who are alleged to have violated criminal law, and, in point (5), for the party to encourage support of Ross Dowson's $500,000 slander suit against the RCMP.

Point (5) reads as follows: "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the party encourage support for a variety of efforts directed towards establishing the legitimacy of dissident, socialist and Marxist thought, including the efforts of Professor Andre Gunder Frank to obtain full travelling rights within Canada and the legal suit of Ross Dowson for slander against RCMP allegations that he and other Waffle supporters and members were subversive."

The resolution, protesting that the Official Secrets Act and the Federal Court Act give the government the right to withhold almost any document under the excuse of national security, also urges that the Official Secrets Act be amended to affirm the right to public trial, calls for a real Information Act and establishment of locally elected Police Review Commissions with power to investigate complaints against the RCMP.

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Quebec prepares to choose future

both of which were aimed at cutting us down to nothing, and again under a federal system which has increasingly driven us into a minority status."

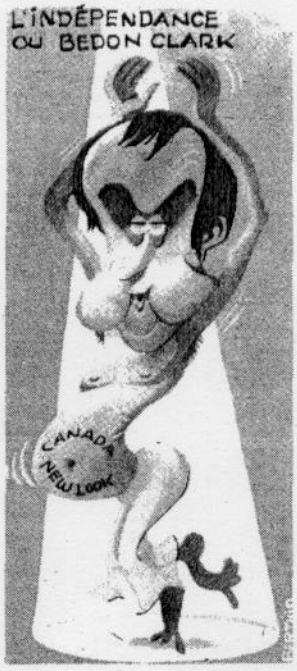
For Quebec to declare its independence is an earth-shaking act. The referendum will be the first time in Canadian history, and one of the few occasions in world history, that any people has consciously chosen its own constitutional future. As the culmination of unprecedented, broad growth of Québécois nationalism, socialists in English Canada should welcome the referendum as an important opportunity for the working people of Quebec to take the measure of their class as well as their national solidarity. Win or lose, as the White Paper says, achieving sovereignty is a process involving the masses—it cannot simply be proclaimed, or realized whole in one election, or even one referendum.

In this spirit, the bulk of the White Paper is written in a restrained, patiently educational style. Technically convincing, it succeeds in presenting its arguments clearly to the working people of both Quebec and English Canada.

Socialists will be struck by the omission of class conflict in its account of Quebec's history: nothing about the collaboration between the British regime and the clergy and landlords against the habitant in early days, or the epic struggles of the rising union movement against the alliance of Asbestos Corp. and Johns-Manville with Duplessis in recent decades. No mention of the modern upsurge of the nationalist movement, with its transformation from an inverted, religious brand of nationalism to the profoundly democratic nationalism of working people, with its socialist currents and debates. Not mentioned either, incredibly, is the attempt by the Canadian state under Trudeau to utilize the War Measures Act to smash Quebec nationalism once and for all—and how this nationalism stood firm, grew as never before, becoming the bedrock on which the Parti Québécois sits today.

This restraint is a measure of the PQ's middle-class, professional leadership, which sees only the "normal" ascension of the Quebec nation to take its place as a "modern" sovereign state. With this strictly nationalist approach, the White Paper describes the role of British imperialism and the struggle of French Canada to protect its language and culture. On this level, the historical struggle to preserve Quebec's distinct national entity is powerful. It describes how, since the time of Lord Durham, the British, then the English Canadian ruling class, recognized this threat, and sought to forcibly assimilate the Québécois by reducing them to the status of a powerless minority.

The White Paper shows how Ottawa has increasingly centralized Confederal power, encroaching more and more on provincial and Quebec jurisdictions through control exercised by federal subsidies. This intervention has been widely extended to include social policy, labor relations, and, of particular concern to Quebec, to cultural affairs—to the point where Ottawa spends more today on culture in Quebec than the provincial government.



The utter failure of past attempts at "renewed federalism", or a "special status" for Quebec is described by the White Paper. It points out that although the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission on Bilingualism, in 1967, came to the conclusion that the Québécois formed a distinct national entity, and that for Confederation to endure, "a true partnership must be worked out between equals," the report was shelved because of its implicit recognition of the right of Quebec to self determination. Its ideas on bilingualism were adopted, and became Trudeau's trump suit in his bid to renew federalism by proving that Québécois culture belonged in Canada. The largely negative results of the bilingualism campaign, and the failure of attempts to reform, or repatriate, the Canadian constitution, are explained by the White Paper as a fundamental conflict of interest between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Quebec's need for sovereign powers could only wreck Confederation, which it treats as adequate for English Canada.

By sovereignty, the White Paper explains Quebec would assume all

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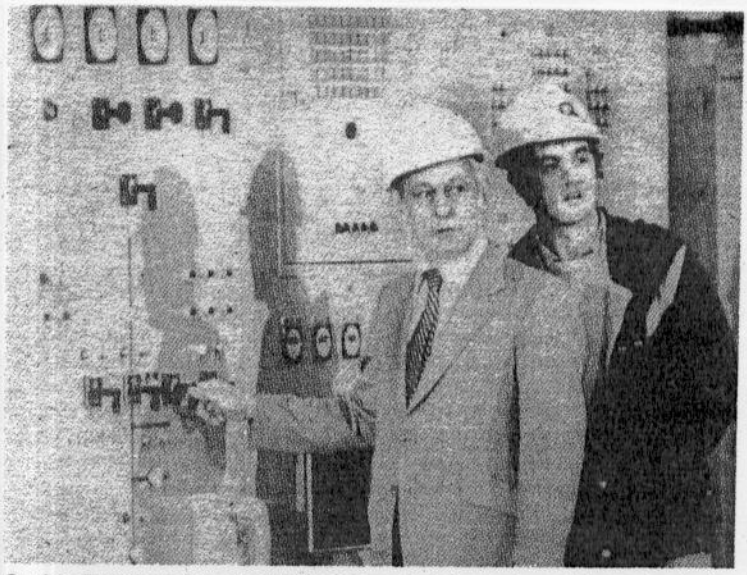
powers of taxation and legislation, with its own passport, immigration policies, and a distinct "international personality", including representation at the United Nations.

With a victory in the referendum, Quebec would open negotiations to assume the powers of a sovereign nation, and seek to form a trade and tariff union with English Canada, sharing a common currency. Hearing the enraged protests of Blakeney, Davis & Company that they would never negotiate economic association with an independent Quebec, the further concessions that the White Paper makes for the first time, recognizing that Quebec could not expect to enjoy parity status with the rest of Canada on economic matters, is lost to view. The PQ is saying that Quebec, once it holds the key political powers of a sovereign state, would be prepared to recognize that it would continue to be in the position of a minority in negotiating an economic association with the rest of Canada.

All the more reason to ridicule the noisy refusals from English Canada to negotiate with Quebec. The White Paper shows how the Quebec and Ontario economies are vitally interlocked and, how, on the pan-Canadian scale, refusal to form an economic association with Quebec would create huge unemployment on both sides. The White Paper also argues convincingly that an associated Quebec would "form a pivot, rather than a barrier" between Western Canada and the Maritimes.

How the Québécois have developed a high level of technology is described in the White Paper's conclusion. The Québécois have become a highly productive work force—ready and able to come into their own as a nation in fact.

And why not? The White Paper is an inspiration of a better future,



Quebec Premier Lévesque flicking the switch that released the water to turn over the turbines bringing the giant Northern Quebec hydro electric system into operation. Quebec will have a vast surplus of renewable energy.

even if it does not venture to be specific about the new Quebec. It only hints at public ownership of resources or manufacturing industry, more broadly suggesting a mixed economy, mentioning aid for small and medium Quebec enterprises. It does not reflect the PQ's past policies on disarmament, seeking to calm outside fears by stating it will remain a member of NATO and NORAD and participate in UN peacekeeping forces.

Beside Canada's rampant "stagflation" however, the appeal of a new dynamic independent Quebec promising major gains for the mass of Québécois must be strong. As well, as the White Paper states, Quebec will at last enjoy "the right to speak French among ourselves, in our skies", and in many occupations workers will be able to rise above the lower "rungs on the ladder, giving the Quebec majority one of the lowest average incomes in our society."

The White Paper is a challenge addressed to the great mass of Québécois—and a positive response can only mean a step ahead. But what of English Canadians, who up to now have remained silent, having refused to be drawn into the campaign for Canadian "unity?"

On the future of English Canada, the White Paper is mute. However, the creation of a new independent Quebec means that we in English Canada should begin to forge a new Canadian state. Haven't the old political parties and the hallowed institutions of Parliament and Senate proven bankrupt—incompetent in the task of holding the old Canada together?

The important concept of a constituent assembly has been put forward in the English Canadian left recently. Wouldn't the convoking of such an assembly, directly representative of all walks of life and all regions of English Canada, and charged with the task of drawing up a new constitution, be necessary to ensure that English Canada might be reconstituted as a viable nation? With the inevitable evolution of an independent Quebec towards taking control of its economy, English Canada as well would want to take control of the exploitation of its natural resources and the development of its economy. A new form of government for English Canada, through such a constituent assembly, would be necessary to establish this economic sovereignty, or at least begin the process.

The PQ's White Paper does not deal with the future of English Canada—but it certainly puts the question on the agenda.

forward #39
EDITOR: Wayne Roberts
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Left caucus emerges from NDP convention

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and by consolidating the party platform in several key areas.

Of course, that's not the way the media saw it. "NDP convention crushes push by left-wing caucus," headlined the Hamilton **Spectator.** "The Left-Caucus, it seems, was left standing," claimed a **Globe** editorial which depicted "Son-of-Waffle... swamped by the bow-wave of a confident party leader, steaming toward the next federal election." According to the **Star**'s Richard Gwynn, "the NDP is getting closer to the centre. All the radical resolutions... were turned down, softened, or shunted aside."

The facts are quite otherwise. In the first place, the initiatives of left delegates were able to overcome leadership inertia and unify the convention behind several important resolutions. This was the case with resolutions in support of postal workers, of Native and Inuit self-determination (a vain effort was made to refer this to an upcoming constitutional committee which would presumably try to settle Inuit and Native rights along the lines of the NDP's Quebec statements) and Petrocan (until the plenary sessions, elements identified with the leadership had tried to evade commitments to expand Petrocan by nationalizing existing firms). In the same vein, the convention united behind a resolution on justice, with a scathing denunciation of the RCMP unlike anything the NDP leadership has yet been identified with, and a broad range of resolutions in support of women's rights. If the left did not have to take the lead on these questions, it is mainly because its work has been accomplished over a period of years.

As was to be expected, the left was defeated on the three issues with which it was exclusively identified. The federal council resolution on industrial strategy passed without significant amendment, and the left resolution on public ownership was passed in two panels with a significant, weakening, amendment. The convention, or 60% of it, was unprepared to adopt public ownership as **the** central strategy and principle of the party.

It should be noted, however, that the federal council resolution itself, presented as a "tough and radical" one, represented an adaptation to the left, an attempt to straddle the developing polarization within the party. The federal leadership's statement on industrial strategy adopted last spring made virtually no reference to public ownership. Broadbent argued at the time that the current Liberal mix of private and public enterprise would remain stable "for the forseeable future," with the exception of Petrocan. He went further and placed himself against public ownership "philosophically... because it would lead to over concentration of state power and a tendency to abuse that power and destroy the notion of freedom, which is at the heart of socialism." By contrast, the federal council resolution on industrial strategy presented at the convention calls for public ownership "where necessary" and in essential resource and manufacturing industries, and points to the vital and positive tradition of public ownership. This represents a modest advance, no doubt due to left-wing protest over the original statements and the pressure of events around Tory privatization efforts, which have vindicated the centrality of public ownership.

The nuclear debate involved the left indirectly, as its forces moved behind the autonomous environment caucus to support a moratorium on uranium mining as well as reactors. The convention upheld a go-ahead on nuclear mining, in keeping with the activities of the Saskatchewan government. Although this represented a defeat for the left caucus, it should be noted that the nuclear debate is a dispute which remains at this time one of scientific judgement rather than clear left-right divisions.

The left suffered its most unqualified defeat on Quebec. A last-minute resolution from federal council called for renewed federalism and appealed to Quebeckers to join New Democrats in that enterprise. Efforts to have the NDP make a straightforward statement endorsing Quebec's national rights to self-determination failed by a margin of four to one (see coverage elsewhere in this issue.)

Although differences between left and right were expressed on major policy issues, no formal contests developed for positions of party leadership. Nevertheless Steve Langdon, the leadership's main spokesman on industrial strategy, finished rockbottom of the new federal council delegates, while Cec Taylor, former Waffler and now president of the 12000 Stelco local, came close to defeating Steel brass representative Stew Cook. These developments were purely spontaneous.

The socialist delegates correctly concentrated their attention on policy issues and methods of educating the convention during "floor fights." This in itself was no small achievement for a group which came into the convention without Canada-wide connections or communication channels, let alone common working experiences. With very few exceptions, all left caucus meetings were open and tolerant, and provided time for the expression of different concerns and points of view.

Elements in the caucus also moved toward establishing mechanisms for left delegates to keep in contact, so that we would not always have to decide on complicated questions under the gun of an impending floorfight. Jim Turk, a former provincial party president and the most authoritative representative of the left delegates, articulated the need for such a long-range discussion, and a late Saturday evening meeting endorsed efforts to develop an information and discussion bulletin to be circulated within the party.

As the convention was getting underway, left MP John Rodriguez told the **Globe** that "we lost the cream, the guts, the lifeblood of the party in the departure of the Waffle ... We've been dormant in the last few years... but it's coming back."

Indeed the left is coming back, as it was bound to do. The NDP, as the party incorporating the politically most advanced workers in the country, inevitably becomes the forum for thrashing out political and programmatic proposals for the labor movement, regardless of the efforts of the NDP leadership to dampen these initiatives, and regardless of the absence of those ultralefts who consider the NDP too impure an environment for them.

"The time for waffling is over," declared the editorial in the Nickelbelt **New Democrat** produced for the convention. "The NDP can continue to fall backwards in an effort to appear practical, safe and trustworthy (to whom?) or recommit itself to being a democratic socialist party dedicated to supporting the needs of working people. The economic crisis, the political crisis and the social crisis can only be met with a socialist alternative. For the NDP the time is now."

The left, the only force capable of winning the party to such a perspective, has re-emerged in the party. In the course of the convention it jelled from a group brought together by word of mouth to support a public ownership resolution, to a united group speaking on several issues and openly declaring itself a caucus. It is on the way to firmly establishing itself as a broad and ongoing, though necessarily loose, formation. History will show that this was the most significant achievement of the convention.

"You, sir, are applying for welfare! I, sir, wish to receive temporary government assistance to overcome setbacks I have suffered in the dog-eat-dog arena of the market place!"

forward #39 Dec 1979

NDP is washed up in Quebec—Laberge

by Wayne Roberts

The party leadership has blown the NDP's chances of making inroads in Quebec, a late-November convention of the Quebec Federation of Labor was told by none less than its president, Louis Laberge. Departing from the text of his prepared speech to respond to the NDP convention decision of the day before, Laberge charged that "the NDP didn't even have the courage to reaffirm clearly its belief in Quebec's right to self-determination." The QFL convention was told that Broadbent "has erred. I think he has come to the conclusion that there was no hope in hell for the NDP in Quebec. Now he has made sure of it."

Alas, no comments on the NDP leadership's convention performance can be too harsh.

At the last moment, and in complete disregard of established practices that convention resolutions be submitted 30 days in advance, an unprepared convention received an emergency resolution from federal council on Federal-Provincial Affairs. The Quebec federal council delegate was so disgusted with the resolution that he simply walked out.

The born-again federalism of this resolution lumps-in Quebec's "questioning of its role within the Canadian federation" with economic inequality and discrimination in the East and the West, all of which reflect what is described, in the most understated terms, as "the inadequacies of federal political policies and leadership." There is no reference to the fact that Quebec is a nation based on culture and language, either in that clause, or in the clause that "recognizes the equal partnership of our two founding peoples and native communities together with Canada's other ethnic groups." We can only conclude that the NDP leadership is stone-blind to the elementary fact that Quebec is a nation, not just an economically aggrieved region, and not just one of four so-called "partners."

The resolution is so cynical as to affirm "faith in the federation's ability to provide cultural and economic justice for all Canadians," a faith entirely unsupported by the history of the country. The resolution goes on with the traditional Liberal-Tory clap-trap to "strongly urge(s) Quebec to support a renewed federation dedicated to cultural and economic equality, and Canadian political and economic independence."

Squashed in between these affirmations and urgings is a little phrase conceding "that the people of Quebec have the right to make their choice without coercion." The NDP leadership marshalled its most revered and prestigious figures, like Andrew Brewin and Broadbent himself, to oppose any strengthening of this phrase. They refused to let a statement of Quebec's right to self-determination stand alone, unless coupled with a "strongly urges" not to exercise it. In fact the wording shrewdly uses "choice" rather than "self-determination", which might imply a recognition of nationhood.

Likewise, the leadership refused to show any willingness to negotiate forms of association with a Quebec that chose sovereignty-association. The NDP refusal to negotiate association is nothing less than a childish (does the NDP not want to negotiate the use of the St. Lawrence Seaway?) attempt to threaten the economic stability of an independent Quebec, and thereby blackmail Quebec voters. Thus, the NDP leadership's concession of the "right to make their own choice without coercion" is nothing less than hypocrisy. Even Radio Shack and Fleck conceded unions' rights to organize; they "only" opposed any association in a first contract.

Although they rushed into clichés, even the leadership resolution feared to touch on specifics. Thus, there are no examples of how federalism will be born-again. This resolution stalls, and instructs the new federal council to establish a committee to study and work out proposals. It will, we are reassured, be an item of "highest importance."

Supporters of Quebec's right to self-determination and of English Canada's obligation to negotiate association with a sovereign Quebec were overwhelmingly defeated. A tabloid circulated at the convention, **Option For Canada, an NDP convention discussion paper**, carried articles by Mel Watkins, Henry Milner, Wayne Roberts and Simon Rosenbloom, but enjoyed little immediate impact.

Those who wish to change the NDP's Quebec policy have their work cut out for them. There are precedents for reversing party decisions, even in emotionally tangled and initially unpopular policy areas. In 1960, the NDP supported NATO; T.C. Douglas even threatened to resign rather than lead a party that opposed NATO. In 1965, the NDP convention refused to blame Washington for the war in Vietnam. In both cases, the NDP finally had to reverse its position.

Upcoming events in Quebec will overcome the NDP leadership's failure to stand up to its responsibilities, but the work of educating NDPers does not properly belong to Quebeckers. The Quebecois have not succeeded in educating the NDP leadership, although the Quebec vote for the Rhinoceros Party—well above that for the NDP—obviously represented a satirical attempt to do so. If the relative success of the Rhinoceros party was a joke, the NDP has replied with a sick joke.

The NDP leadership has written off the people of Quebec. In effect, they have written off the people of Canada, for the party can never expect to achieve power without support in Quebec. It is up to the left in English Canada to begin the educational work to reverse the party's position.

CIA brainwashers will face trial

The suit of Velma Orlikow, wife of the NDP M.P. for Winnipeg North, against a Montreal hospital's CIA-funded brainwashing experiments has crossed another legal hurdle. Superior Court Justice Nelancon has denied a hospital motion for dismissal on the grounds that it was filed after statutes of limitations by ruling that she could not have sued earlier because she only recently learned of the CIA's involvement with the Montreal Allan Memorial Institute. Even then her lawyers say that the $90,980 suit may not be heard for two years.

The Allan Memorial Institute conducted experiements on Orlikow between 1956-64 from which she still suffers after-affects, including inability to concentrate on reading and writing and fear of crowds. These experiments—the full scope is yet to be revealed—were financed from a $25 million fund allocated to the CIA to perfect techniques of brainwashing.

forward #39 Dec 1979

Quebec's women unionists unite on equal rights fight

by Wayne Roberts

"Equal to Equal," the Parti Québécois slogan to popularize sovereignty-association, is stirring up the labour movement of that province in unexpected ways.

When Anne Dandurand opened a Quebec Federation of Labour-sponsored conference on women, attended by some 450 delegates representing 80,000 QFL women unionists, she called for a society where "equal to equal" would be the real-

Under the slogan — A Double Exploitation — A Single Struggle — 600 participated in an early October Montreal rally to discuss the condition of women in the work force.

ity of relations between the sexes, not just a political slogan.

The three-day conference, organized around the theme "a double exploitation: a single struggle," heard the first public speech of Lise Payette in her new post as Minister of State responsible for the status of women. Ms. Payette delivered a fiery address that was as much a challenge to her own government as to the assembled delegates.

"I ask you no longer to ask for what is rightfully yours by saying 'please' but by saying 'I want and I demand,'" Ms. Payette urged. "This is the only way that the woman question will progress."

QFL leaders were quick to take advantage of Payette's supportive statements, and turn them against her cabinet colleague, Jacques Parizeau. As government finance minister, Parizeau is on the front lines of the battle developing between the Common Front of public sector workers and a PQ government, which is trying to maintain labour support for the forthcoming referendum. QFL general secretary, Fernand Daoust, called on the PQ government to take heed of its woman minister's words on equality of women, especially in the public sector where women are often paid less than men.

The conference called for the creation of women's committees at all levels of the labour movement. These committees, a majority of delegates voted, should work in unity with women's committees established in the QFL's rival union centre, the CNTU. The committees are to be charged with studying problems, exchanging information and building support for a wide range of feminist causes. Equal pay for equal work, government-financed daycare centres, birth control and abortion clinics, and March International Women's Day demonstrations are among the issues these committees will deal with.

Hailed as a "historic" and "sensational" event by QFL president Louis Laberge, the conference introduced women unionists to the minefields of Quebec's faction-ridden labour movement.

The women delegates apparently took the solidarity rhetoric of the labour movement at face value. Thunderous applause followed the decision to extend invitations to rival union centres to attend a November 3rd conference of all women unionists. The decision to invite members of rival unions passed over the objections of the QFL's male president and secretary general.

Over 600 delegates from the QFL and CNTU assembled for that November 3rd conference. The conference reaffirmed the decisions of the October meeting and launched preparations for a massive demonstration at the Quebec National Assembly on March 8, International Women's Day. Women's committees of both the QFL and CNTU will be working together.

Bravado, bluster and blackmail

Responses to the White Paper

by **John Darling**

The reasoning tone and cool passion of the PQ's White Paper has given little opportunity to the media and federalist forces to ridicule or belittle it. Nevertheless, it has been unanimously rejected in the press, radio and TV.

The four western premiers lost no time attacking Quebec's bid to negotiate economic association. Saskatchewan NDP premier Blakeney led the pack, saying Quebec would enjoy a less "cordial" relationship with Canada than the United States, if it separated. In Ontario, Premier Davis repeated his refusal to negotiate with Quebec, whatever the outcome of the referendum. He demagogically accused the PQ of "closing doors" to advancement within federalism and wanting to create a Quebec "ghetto," while his government is denying the francophones of Penetanguishene their own public school.

Prime Minister Clark dismissed the White Paper's detailed proposals with the observation that it is "incompatible with the continuation of our federation." He rebuffed Liberal and NDP challenges that he take a more strident position in the referendum debate, charging that Trudeau had been "blind to the damage his attitude of confrontation has done in Quebec."

Clark must face the powerful reality of the PQ referendum, and as an indication that the federal government is bracing itself for a victory for sovereignty-association, he conceded that a massive vote would sweep away impediments to a province leaving Confederation. "There is no legal means by which self-determination can be realized," he said, adding "...we would have to consider changing the law."

The Anglophone press was shaken by the White Paper. The Toronto **Star** labelled it "a masterful piece of propaganda," simultaneously claiming the PQ had revealed itself as independentist, and was hiding its real aims. The editors conceded "...the separatists may well eke out the yes vote they seek and plunge us all into an uncertain future."

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Que. unions demand government expropriation of runaway firm

The executive council of the Fédération de Travail du Québec, encompassing all Quebec affiliates to the Canadian Labour Congress, is demanding that the Quebec government expropriate the vast operations of ITT-Rayonier, without compensation, and get them back into operation.

In early September, the U.S. head office of this giant conglomerate announced the Port Cartier shutdown, thereby throwing its 1,300 employees onto the scrapheap, including 525 who had been on strike for three months. It was only eight years ago that the Bourassa Liberals granted ITT-Rayonier—the 11th largest company in the world with an annual turnover exceeding the budget of the Quebec government—exclusive rights to a territory four times larger than the province of New Brunswick, extending along the north shore of the St. Lawrence.

With an 80-year lease, and with provincial and federal government handouts to the extent of 25% of its investment, ITT-Rayonier planned the world's largest cellulose-acetate factory in the company town of Port Cartier, with an initial capacity of 263,000 tons of wood pulp, to be shipped out and processed in its operations outside of Canada into rayon, tire fibre, cellophane, etc.

Occupation of offices of International Telephone and Telegraph at Port Rayonnier on November 15. The notorious U.S.-based conglomerate closed down its giant North shore cellulose operations, throwing 1,300 out of work.

While the government agreed to build Port Cartier's port facilities, hospital, subsidize a water treatment and filtration plant, and supply hydro power at the lowest rate in Quebec, ITT-Rayonier was granted the privilege of withdrawing from the operation at any time, without incurring any financial penalties.

Despite the ITT's pillage of the public treasury, the operation has been said to be running at a loss of more than $50 million a year, largely due to incredible errors in the planning and operation of the project which have been long known to the workers on the job.

The FTQ executive council has called for the creation of a committee of public inquiry, with participation of the union and representatives of the Port Cartier community, in order to clarify the cause of the shutdown and propose how to get the operation under way again. For the workers and their families, the closure is a catastrophe as there is no other work in the region and their limited resources are tied up in houses that are unsaleable. Help should be sent to SCT, casier postal 338, Port Cartier, Quebec.